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IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY

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CONTENTS

Number 1 — January 1958

Pioneer Farmers and Innovation	ALLEN G. BOGUE	1
Document:		
Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa — Part II	Edited by MILDRED THRONE	37
Source Material of Iowa History:		
The Appointment of James Wilson as Secretary of Agriculture		77
Historical Activities		89
Historical Publications		93

Number 2 — April 1958

Iowa Railroads and the Des Moines River Improvement Land Grant of 1846	LEONARD F. RALSTON	97
A Decade of Transportation Fever in Burlington, Iowa, 1845-1855	GEORGE A. BOECK	129
Document:		
Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866 — Part I	Edited by MILDRED THRONE	153
Historical Activities		188
Historical Publications		190

Number 3 — July 1958

Iowa Politics and the Compromise of 1850	MORTON M. ROSENBERG	193
Document:		
Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866 — Part II	Edited by MILDRED THRONE	207
Source Material of Iowa History:		
A Burlington Editor Comments on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858		275
Historical Activities		281
Historical Publications		285

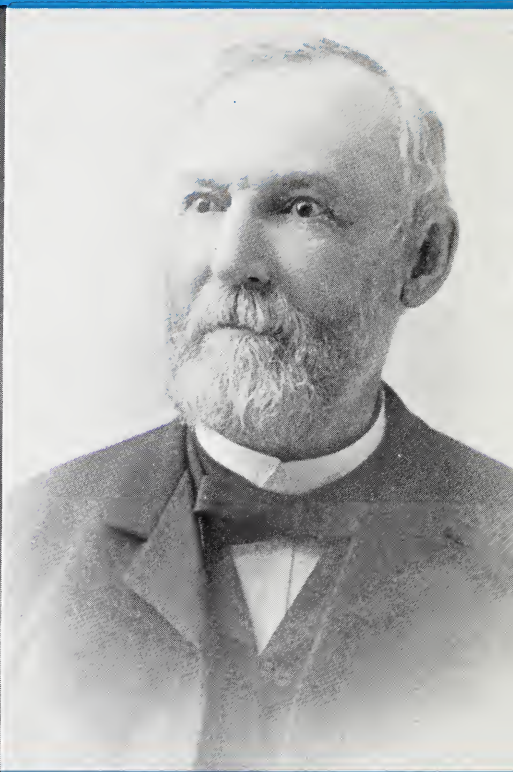
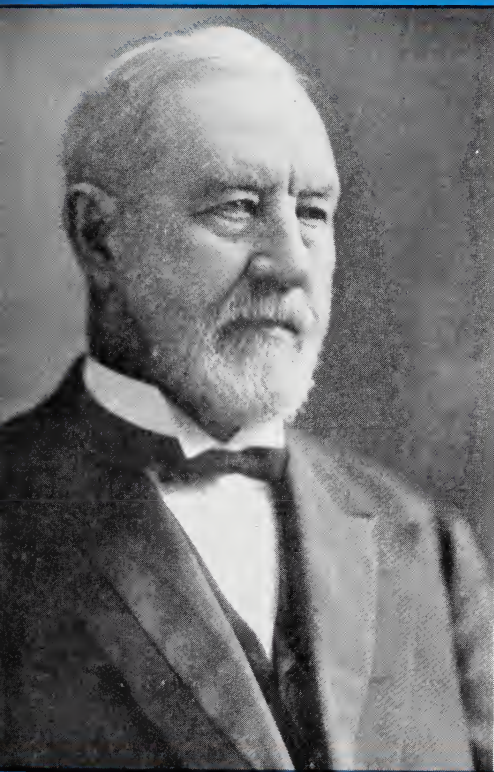
Number 4 — October 1958

Dennis Mahony and the Dubuque <i>Herald</i> , 1860-1863	HUBERT H. WUBBEN	289
Document:		
Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866 — Part III	Edited by MILDRED THRONE	321
Historical Activities		365
Index		369

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Vol 56	JANUARY 1958	No 1
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CONTENTS

Pioneer Farmers and Innovation	Allen G. Bogue	1
Document:		
Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa — Part II	Edited by Mildred Throne	37
Source Material of Iowa History:		
The Appointment of James Wilson as Secretary of Agriculture		77
Historical Activities		89
Historical Publications		93

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COVER

TWO LEADING IOWA AGRICULTURISTS

Left: Henry Wallace, founder of *Wallaces' Farmer*.
Right: James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture from 1897 to 1913.

PIONEER FARMERS AND INNOVATION

By *Allan G. Bogue**

In recent years the rural sociologist has become extremely interested in the way in which farm people accept new ideas.¹ Such interest has grown from the desire to see improved agricultural practices diffused among the rural population as rapidly as possible, but the approach of the sociologist may also be of use to the historian in helping him to understand the processes of change in the rural community. The sociologist lists stages through which the individual farmer moves while adopting a new practice or idea—awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption. Information comes to the farmer along a number of channels including those which the social scientist calls mass communication media, through neighbors and friends, through salesmen and commercial dealers, and finally through agricultural agencies like those sponsored by the federal and state governments.²

Many factors apparently influence the speed with which modern farmers modify their practices. The degree of disturbance in the farm organization which a new practice will cause, the amount of profit expected from a change, the ease with which the advantages of a new idea are demonstrated, all seem important. The characteristics of the rural community and the groups within the community also play a part in speeding or delaying change. Tradition-bound groups hesitate to alter their farming

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¹ This article grew out of study and research undertaken during 1955 and 1956 while I held a post-doctoral training fellowship, awarded by the Social Science Research Council. I also wish to acknowledge the assistance and advice given during or after the fellowship period by Professors Ray E. Wakeley, George M. Beal, Joe M. Bohlen, and Robert Hamblin of the department of economics and sociology, Iowa State College, and by Professor David Gold of the department of sociology and anthropology, State University of Iowa. Responsibility for errors of fact or interpretation is, of course, mine alone.

² The North Central Rural Sociology Committee has prepared a helpful guide to research on the diffusion of ideas among farm people, *Bibliography of Research on: Social Factors in the Adoption of Farm Practices* (Ames, Iowa, 1956). In presenting a brief summary of such research, I have followed in general outline an earlier publication of the same group, *How Farm People Accept New Ideas* (Ames, Iowa, 1955), drafted by George M. Beal and Joe E. Bohlen.

methods, while innovation occurs more rapidly in groups where the emphasis is upon individualism and personal success. The leadership structure, the number and kind of social contacts enjoyed by farmers, localism, cliquism, and the extent of status differences all are involved in speeding or retarding change. As for the individual, his age, formal education, socioeconomic status, and the number and kind of his social contacts all affect the eagerness with which he will adopt a new practice.

Some social scientists divide farmers into categories based on the speed with which they adopt new ideas: innovators, community adoption leaders, local adoption leaders, later adopters, and nonadopters.³ The innovator experiments constantly with new practices. Community adoption leaders on the other hand, although not experimenters, are quick to use ideas whose worth has been shown. Today community adoption leaders have a wide range of social contacts, they tend to be members of farm organizations, and they have direct contacts with agricultural agencies. "They tend to have a higher level of education and read more bulletins, magazines and newspapers than do the average." The local adoption leaders have more sources of information than average in the community, but are much like their fellows in personal and social characteristics. These men are "informal leaders" whose neighbors value their good judgment, and it is their example or advice which most influences the bulk of local farmers in a decision to adopt a new practice.⁴

The historian who seeks to understand the changing patterns of farming in pioneer Iowa is less fortunate than the sociologist who can go into a rural community which has recently accepted a new farming method and interview residents until the channels along which knowledge of the innovation ran become clear and the role of the leaders in the adoption process evident. For the time being at least the farmers of pioneer Iowa are beyond

³ Some years ago an agricultural economist and historian, Clarence Danhof, approached the same problem from a slightly different angle and tried to distinguish various types of entrepreneurship among agriculturists, suggesting the following categories: innovating, imitative, "Fabian," and drone entrepreneurship. Research Center of Entrepreneurial History, *Change and the Entrepreneur: Postulates and Patterns for Entrepreneurial History* (Cambridge, 1949), 20-24.

⁴ A few historians other than Danhof have approached the problems of agricultural innovation also, although in somewhat different fashion. Particularly important are James C. Malin, *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt of Kansas: A Study in Adaptation to Subhumid Geographical Environment* (Lawrence, Kans., 1944), and Earle D. Ross, "Retardation in Farm Technology Before the Power Age," *Agricultural History*, 30:11-17 (January, 1950).

the historian's reach and he must use data almost hopelessly incomplete by the standards of the sociologist. But the historian can isolate many of the questions which the pioneer farmer sought to answer and the sources of information which were available to him. The relative influence of early leaders on their fellows is fugitive, and some local leaders will escape completely, but the historian can identify many of them and suggest some of their social characteristics. These are the tasks attempted in this study of pioneer farmers in Hamilton County, Iowa, between the years 1855 and 1890.

The raw materials for a study of this sort must come mainly from five types of sources. First, the columns of the pioneer newspaper at the county seat contain the activities of readers from both town and country. As the town grew and the ambitions of its businessmen expanded, the concerns of the individual farmer would attract less attention from the editor; but before he reached this stage of sophistication he had recorded many useful facts for the agricultural historian. Second, the federal census taker, at ten-year intervals, enumerated the local population and recorded the agricultural production of the farmers during the previous year as well as the livestock on hand in the current year. In addition, the manuscript census rolls can tell much which lies hopelessly buried in the summations and averages of the printed census. Third, the county and township records make their contribution. From the deed and mortgage registers of the county recorder the student can discern the shifting patterns of land ownership in the county — patterns replete with both economic and social significance. Fourth, Midwestern publishing firms issued fat biographical histories of most counties in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although these tomes were blatantly commercial in intent and erratically selective in choice of subjects, they reward the searcher, hardy enough to wade through hundreds of cliché-ridden biographical sketches, with a harvest of valuable facts. Hamilton County residents subscribed to three such biographical histories. Fifth, the secretary of each county agricultural society was expected to return an annual report to the State Agricultural Society which described the activities of the local organization in some detail and might include a general discussion of agricultural developments in the county generally. These reports were published in the annual *Report* of the Society. It is questionable whether a realistic picture of local conditions can be drawn from such reports, but in composite with other sources,

the reports of the local agricultural society are very helpful. These are the major sources; let us now turn to pioneer Hamilton.

Settlement in Hamilton County began generally along the Boone River in the mid-1850's and spread back from the stream. The federal census taker of 1860 reported that there were 139 farm units in the county during the previous year, averaging 205 acres in size. The number of farmers in the county grew rapidly during the late 1860's, but the area of the farm unit decreased so that the average size of 1,565 farm operations in 1880 was 112 acres. The latter trend soon reversed itself and the "average farmer" was tilling 162 acres in 1900. The Hamilton County farmer of 1860 raised four bushels of corn for every bushel of wheat. By the end of this decade, however, the ratio was only two to one. In the mid-seventies much more stress was placed on corn, and by 1889 the farm operator was harvesting 172 bushels of corn for every bushel of wheat. Beginning in the middle seventies also, local farmers began to raise more oats than ever before.

The farmers of 1860 had, on the average, cured some 30 tons of hay in the previous year. This amount would fall off in the sixties and seventies, but in 1889 local farmers cured 47 tons of hay on the average. Although interest in clover and timothy spread during the late 1870's, prairie grass still made up 79 per cent of the year's cutting in 1894. Hamilton County farmers harvested small acreages of barley, rye, and buckwheat during the pioneer period but never in significant quantities. Between 1874 and 1884 they developed some interest in flax, planting almost 1,500 acres in 1879, but the popularity of this crop was short lived. Most farmers planted a small potato patch, and many grew a little sorghum to provide molasses. Despite the 33,000 fruit trees reported in the state census of 1874, Hamilton County farmers never claimed more than 8,000 trees in bearing thereafter.

Not only did the farmers of 1860 have larger holdings than the average of later years, they owned considerably more livestock as well. The average farmer of 1863 owned 25 cattle, a figure surpassed only in 1890, while the farmers of 1870 claimed but seven. Swine numbers followed much the same pattern. Production of butter on farms was obviously related to the number of cattle on farms, but only in the 1860's was any quantity of cheese produced. The 33 sheep per operator of 1867 reflected a lively interest of local farmers in this animal, but it was transient. Only

1,500 sheep were to be found in 1890 as compared to 12,018 in 1867.⁵ The number of draft animals rose in a pattern similar to cattle and hogs, but the ox, so common in the 1860's, had almost disappeared by 1880.⁵

But the pioneer farms of Hamilton County were not all cut to the same pattern, as the manuscript census rolls clearly show.⁶ The business of any one farmer might vary considerably from the county averages. Whether owner or tenant, he might place major dependence on a herd of milk cows, on feeding operations, on the raising of grain for sale, or, more usually, a combination of such enterprises. The size of farm units differed drastically, ranging from but a few acres to holdings of many hundreds.

In 1857 the Hamilton County Agricultural Society sponsored a competition among the local farmers to discover the best improved farms in the community. Although the society probably grew from the desire of Webster City promoters to "boom" the region, and although few, if any, "farmers" had been in the county for longer than three years, five settlers did invite the committee of judges to inspect their farms. As they performed their labors, the arbiters inquired whether the contestants had used manures to advantage. The proprietors of the two best properties, farmers Funk and Hill, affirmed that they had indeed; William Fraikes, whose acres only earned honorable mention, maintained that stimulation of this kind was still unnecessary.⁷ In such conflict of opinion pioneer agriculture began in Hamilton County. As a generation of pioneer farmers carved farms from the timbered lands along the Boone River and its tributaries and from prairies which rank among the most valuable in Iowa today, their labors would reflect almost numberless decisions — rejection or acceptance of many ideas both old and new.

Of all printed matter, the local county paper was undoubtedly most important to the pioneer farmer as a source of information and ideas.⁸

⁵ This summary was based on a detailed analysis of census data found in *Census of the United States*, No. 8, Vol. 2; No. 9, Vol. 3; No. 10, Vol. 3; No. 11, Vol. 18; No. 12, Vols 5 and 6, and in *Census of Iowa for 1880 . . . with Other Historical and Statistical Data* (Des Moines, 1883); *Census of Iowa for the Year 1885 . . .* (Des Moines, 1885); *Census of Iowa for the Year 1895* (Des Moines, 1896).

⁶ The manuscript agricultural census returns for 1860, 1870, and 1880 are available at the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

⁷ Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, Oct. 22, 1857. The name of this paper was changed somewhat on a number of occasions. Hereafter it will be referred to simply as the *Freeman*.

⁸ In evaluating the role of the press in disseminating ideas, it is well to keep in

Between June 29, 1857, when Charles Aldrich published the first number of the Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, and the end of the year 1885, four proprietors edited the paper. Under Aldrich the *Freeman* began as a "boomer" organ in which the editor sang the praises of a little county seat, "nestled down in one of the prettiest little nooks in creation—in the center of this rich and fertile region—one of the smartest and widest-awake towns in the West,"⁹ at the same time that a traveler was sending a letter back east from the local post office dated, "four miles beyond Sundown and seven beyond the knowledge of God."¹⁰ When war took Aldrich away in 1862, the paper languished until taken over by V. A. Ballou in 1864. Two years later John D. Hunter became editor and proprietor. Although Hunter transferred the paper to other hands for one year during the 1870's and handed over active editorial direction to subordinates at times, he remained in control of the paper for the remainder of the period in which we are interested. Both Aldrich and Hunter evinced keen interest in agricultural problems. Although he gave up the paper, Aldrich maintained a farm near Webster City for many years and for a time during the 1870's served as agricultural editor for a Chicago paper. Hunter could not make the same claims to being an authority on agricultural problems in his own right, but he came from a family of progressive agriculturists and he made real efforts to serve his farm readers.

The editor of a county seat newspaper could render the farm operators among his readers a variety of services. In the first place he could try to guide the farmers along paths which he believed would prove most profitable to them. Factual reporting of the activities of the farmers in the county could also aid the individual operator since he learned of developments outside his immediate neighborhood and gained vicarious experience. The editor also could open his columns to the opinions of others whose knowledge might assist the local farmers. Such writers might be local farmers who believed that they had worth-while information on crops and tillage to pass along, or they might be writers in the agricultural press, or

mind the recent contention of one agricultural historian. "Some historians have believed that editors by their individual efforts could change the practices or crops of a region. . . . Editors followed, rather than led, in any process of general change." John T. Schlebecker, "Dairy Journalism: Studies in Successful Farm Journalism," *Agricultural History*, 31:23 (October, 1957).

⁹ *Freeman*, Jan. 7, 1858.

¹⁰ *Biographical History of Cherokee County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1889), 237.

the editor's exchanges whose offerings the editor clipped for the benefit of his own readers. Implicit in the editor's factual reporting and in the selections from agricultural journals and exchanges were preconceived ideas of what the good farmer should be as the days of pioneering at its rawest were left behind. These preconceptions, too, might have a subtle influence in preparing the mind of the individual farmer for decision making.

In 1858 the editor of the *Freeman* made his most sweeping recommendation to the farmers of Hamilton County when he suggested that the most profitable branch of agriculture was stock raising.¹¹ Corn had actually rotted during the previous fall and winter for want of livestock to eat it, and the prairies, he argued, provided unlimited pasture. "We have no doubt," he concluded, "that those of our farmers who devote their efforts to stock-raising will in a few years become our richest and most prosperous citizens." The editor showed real perception in this article, and in a sense his prophecy was borne out. Twenty years later, livestock would hold an important place in the farming patterns of the more prosperous farmers of Hamilton County. But livestock in any numbers represented a capital investment beyond the reach of most settlers who would arrive in the sixties and seventies. For these a farming operation which demanded smaller investments of capital was essential, and this was provided by a type of farming in which wheat provided a cash crop.

The action of Aldrich in offering a ten dollar premium to the farmer who raised the best acre of wheat and a similar prize to the settler who produced the best sample of sorghum sugar in the crop year 1861 was undoubtedly much more in accord with the realities of agriculture in the Webster City district than was his admonition to concentrate upon the production of livestock.¹² By the mid-1870's Hunter was swinging toward Aldrich's original position as the production of cash crops of wheat became less profitable and more emphasis was placed generally on livestock. Such stock moreover should be of high quality. It cost no more to raise a valuable horse than a "dunghill."¹³ When Colonel John Scott of Story County proposed to sell fifty cattle "off the top of his herd," in the late

¹¹ *Freeman*, July 15, 1858. Professor Thomas LeDuc has been suggesting for some years that the major point developed in this paragraph applies generally to pioneer farmers in the Middle West during this period.

¹² *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1860.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1869.

seventies, the editor suggested that it would be worth while for Hamilton County farmers to bring home every animal.¹⁴ Although the activities of the cattle feeder drew more editorial comment than those of other agriculturists, the editor could by the late 1870's suggest that dairying was a more satisfactory kind of livestock operation for the man of small capital.¹⁵

Through the 1870's the editor's attitude toward the grain crops mirrored the change which was taking place in the county generally. When reporting the state of the crops during the previous decade, his primary concern had been the wheat crop. But in 1873 he would observe that "Iowa relies much on her corn crop," and four years later he wrote, "farmers are fast learning that there is more real profit in the corn crop than in almost everything else."¹⁶ Where Aldrich had offered premiums in 1860 for the best acre of wheat and the best sample of sorghum sugar, Hunter, twenty years later, offered a special premium of ten dollars for the best five acres of corn.¹⁷ In 1885 he affirmed, "the soil of Hamilton county is pre-eminently fitted for the growth of corn and our farmers are each year paying more attention to this crop, which is the sure road to successful farming."¹⁸

In Hamilton County cutting prairie grass for hay was a task for the August and September days during the pioneer period. In the mid-1870's the editor admonished his readers to make their hay early before the grasses went to seed so that a product of better quality might be obtained. As the unbroken prairies yielded rapidly to the plow in the late 1870's and the early 1880's, Hunter, with support from Aldrich, devoted some attention to the tame grasses, particularly timothy and red clover.¹⁹ "Prairie hay," he wrote, "will soon be a thing of the past. . . . There is nothing the West needs more than an extension of the varieties of grasses cultivated. Especially do we need varieties that will stand as pasture during the usual droughts of July and August."²⁰ In the spring of 1879 he noted that clover and timothy seed were in greater demand than ever before. To the embarrassment of both the *Freeman* and Aldrich, much of the red clover

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1877.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1876.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1873; Apr. 11, 1877.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr. 14, 1880.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1885.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 10, June 5, 12, July 3, 24, 1878; Apr. 2, 1879.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1877.

died during the winter of 1880, and discussion of tame grasses vanished from the columns of the newspaper for a time.²¹

Aldrich, Ballou, and Hunter were inveterate champions of fruit growing. Their Yankee origins had left them with a memory of pleasant countryside, where every farm boasted an orchard. The fact that Mr. Downing in Cass township had a peach tree in bearing demonstrated to Aldrich that "peaches may be abundantly raised in North Western Iowa."²² Ballou in 1864 maintained that "Iowa is the very paradise of small fruits," and hopefully forecast that "in a few years Iowa will become noted as a wine producing state."²³ Winter killing or the unfortunate experiences of local farmers with peripatetic nursery men might silence the editors for a time, but they invariably returned to the subject.²⁴ Hunter differed with one of the local experts in 1880 at some length:

We have long believed that Hamilton county will be noted in the future for its large and excellent crops of apples; but now we hear that our venerable friend, Huitt Ross, avers that in ten years apples will be so plenty here that they won't be worth 25 cents per bushel! We rather differ with him in this regard. There will be an almost unlimited demand for Iowa apples, on the plains and in all parts of the Rocky mountains, from British possessions to Old Mexico. There will be improved methods of drying and preserving them for shipment everywhere. Hogs and cattle may be profitably fed upon them to almost any extent — if they ever get cheap and plenty enough. So, on the whole, without going into any argument about the matter, we are of the opinion that our farmers can do nothing more sensible than to keep right on planting apple-trees.²⁵

Such premonitions on the part of the editor and his "venerable friend" would earn neither of them a prize for prophecy.

If importing purebreds or planting fruit trees won the approval of the editor, certain practices inspired his censure. He showed little sympathy for the man who allowed a scrub bull to roam, nor for the beast either. On the latter, improvement-minded farmers were to "use the knife un-

²¹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1880.

²² *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1862.

²³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1864.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 3, Aug. 6, 1865.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1880.

sparingly" in what he called "heroic treatment."²⁶ A man who burned the prairies in September or October, the editor wrote in 1864, should be prosecuted.²⁷ Only a week later he supported his position with a story of local cattle badly burned or killed by a prairie fire.²⁸ Roughly a decade later he could repeat his advice with the additional admonition that it was now a violation of the law to burn the prairies in the fall. Quite aside from the risks of fall burning, the farmer could destroy young grasshoppers if he fired the old grass in the spring.²⁹ As early as 1872 the local editor warned against using the plow on steep slopes, and deplored the water erosion which resulted from such practice.³⁰ Unquestionably the editor of the *Freeman* served as a community conscience, but people often prefer to ignore the prompting of conscience.

The editor's ideal farmer seems to have been an industrious man, alert to improve his agricultural practices by applying the ideas which he might discover in the agricultural columns of the local paper and agricultural press or at the annual fair of the agricultural society. At the same time, however, he was cautious in expenditure. During the seventies the editor warned against increasing the size of the farm unit unduly and echoed the aphorism that it was better to farm a small farm well than a big farm poorly.³¹ The editor believed that farmers could help themselves by discussing mutual problems, and the farmers' club organized in Cass township during the early 1870's undoubtedly owed something to his guidance.³² At first he commended the Grange, but, as a power in the local Republican party, he could hardly approve the interest in politics which the members developed.³³

Many of the agricultural items in the *Freeman* simply illustrated the reportorial function of the paper. One category of such items included discussion of plant and animal diseases or pests. Periodically Hamilton County farmers fought the potato beetle, chinch bugs, and grasshoppers, and the editor printed battle communiques along with critiques of the war plans.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1877.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1864.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1864.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1876.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1872.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, Sept. 6, 1876.

³² *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1864; Feb. 23, 1870.

³³ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1872; May 14, 1873.

In 1877, for instance, "Uncle Jimmy Adams" was "making it red-hot" for the young hoppers in his wheat by driving them into windrows of hay which he then fired.³⁴ Recurrently during the period blackleg struck the cattle, horses suffered from pink eye and epizootic, and cholera attacked the swine. The editor passed along remedies to his farm readers with indeterminate success. Suggestions that burnt corn or jimson weed tea would cure or prevent hog cholera serve better no doubt as evidence of the level of veterinary science in the day than proof of aid given by the local editor in solving a farm problem.³⁵ But there were exceptions to this rule. In 1869 and again in 1871, he printed directions for applying paris green to control the potato beetle.³⁶ Although this successful treatment had been in use for only a few years at the time, the frontier farmer was by no means isolated from improved farming techniques, if their worth had been proved.

At times the editor reported the text of state laws which he thought of interest to the farmers. In the earlier days of the paper, such reporting merely filled space in part, but by the 1870's much more selection was apparent. At appropriate times of the year the editor might remind his readers that burning prairies in the fall was a crime or that the tumbling rods of threshing machines must be boxed under state law.³⁷

Undoubtedly the editor was selective in reporting the activities of the farm population. He pandered to his readers' taste for the novel. When William Hook slaughtered a McGee hog which weighed 602 pounds at the age of nineteen months the *Freeman* challenged anyone else in the region to "show better figures on the hog question."³⁸ The reading fare of Hamilton County citizens was liberally garnished with big cabbages, double-yoked eggs, and tall corn.³⁹ Unusual crops or innovations provoked comment although they might be of little significance in the long run. On the other hand, farmers who followed progressive practices did receive mention some of the time at least, as an item of 1877 shows clearly. J. A. Felt, the editor noted, was becoming a large stock raiser and did

³⁴ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1877.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1878; Sept. 3, 1879.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1869; June 14, 1871.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1869; Aug. 12, 1874.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1871.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, July 30, 1864; Sept. 23, 1885.

not "propose to fool away his time raising wheat."⁴⁰ The editor reported that the Odessa wheat of W. H. Riley threshed sixty-two pounds to the bushel, and the plug no doubt helped Riley in his plans to popularize this variety of seed in the county.⁴¹ Community coverage in the *Freeman* improved somewhat during the late 1870's, when the editor succeeded in building up a staff of local correspondents, but these writers frequently took farming for granted and emphasized local social life.

The editors of the *Freeman* desired to make the paper a forum in which local farmers might discuss agricultural problems. Although farm readers never swamped the editor with letters, they supplemented the plow with the pen rather frequently during the 1870's when low prices and the encroachment of settlers on prairies hitherto used by the established farmers as commons produced a period of readjustment and questioning. A number of writers attempted to lay down the philosophy which the farmer should bring to his work. Do things in season; always plan ahead; use good seed; do not try too much; these were the admonitions of "Aitch" from Cass township.⁴² His last bit of advice appeared in a variety of forms in these years, including simple repetition of "the old fashioned adage that 'a little farm well tilled' is the best after all."⁴³ Be honest, thrifty, and avoid both beer and agricultural implement salesmen was the counsel of others.⁴⁴ Although negative in tone, a letter written originally by Oliver Templer for the *Country Gentleman* reflects some of the more progressive attitudes of the time:

One of the roads to poor farming is well traveled but not generally acknowledged — invest all your capital in land and go in debt for more. Hire money at a heavy interest to run the farm; have very little faith in farming and always be ready to sell out; buy the cheapest and poorest kind of stock and farming machinery; feed poor grain and hay to your stock, and you will have less repairs to make on your rickety fences and farm machinery, as fine horses and fat stock make sad havoc with the old wagon, plow, . . . and fences. Use the oil of hickory whenever your oxen need strength; it is cheaper than high feeding and keeps

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, June 27, 1877.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1873.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1873.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1873. See also, Apr. 4, 1871; Aug. 30, 1876.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 12, 1871; Apr. 17, 1878.

the hair lively, and pounds out the grubs. Never waste time by setting out fruit or shade trees, as leaves rotting around a place make it unhealthy. Sell the best calves, lambs and shoats, to the butchers, as they will bring a little more, and the thin and poor ones will do well enough to keep.⁴⁵

Even Templer, however, subscribed to the "little farm well tilled" gospel, although the census reports of 1890 would show that it had been overwhelmingly rejected.

Some farmers discussed the profit to be found in specific farm enterprises. Between 1870 and 1876 the returns to be expected from wheat were the subject of particular argument. Early in 1870 "Hamilton" was convinced that wheat acreage should be reduced sharply, that the proportion of other crops, especially corn, should be greatly increased, and that more and better stock should be raised. These points, he modestly suggested, constituted "*intelligent, discriminating, agricultural wisdom.*"⁴⁶ But three years later a number of the local farmers were challenging each other's figures on the cost of wheat production, and "A. G. N." charged "Prairie" with padding his accounts by including allowances for "poor plows, high-priced harvest hands, worthless machinery, worn out teams and wagons, gabbling, time killing teamsters, etc."⁴⁷ Three years later "Alfo" concluded that farmers were "becoming satisfied of the folly of attempting to raise grain to ship," and the census returns of 1880 bore him out.⁴⁸

Other letters ranged over a variety of topics, sometimes in polemical fashion. The manager of the River Bend Farm, owned by L. L. Estes, flayed Charles Aldrich for his support of the Jersey breed and argued that the Shorthorn was a superior animal for any local need.⁴⁹ In the mid-seventies those who opposed restraining stock under the terms of the state herd law submitted a series of strongly worded letters.⁵⁰ The most violent of these partisans hinted strongly that all of the advocates of the measure were selfish, if not dishonest, and divided them into a number of uncomplimentary categories which included land sharks, land agents, and

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1874.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1870.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, Feb. 12, 26, 1873.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1876.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1883.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Mar. 6, 1872; Oct. 28, 1876; Sept. 19, 26, Oct. 3, 1877; Oct. 8, 1879.

lawyers.⁵¹ Less dramatic and also less numerous were letters in which the writer advocated improved tillage and feeding practices or discussed livestock or plant diseases and pests.⁵²

The Hamilton County farmer might learn of improved agricultural practices in the Middle Western agricultural press as well as in the local newspapers. The better-known farm journals advertised in the *Freeman* and occasionally excerpts from their columns appeared there as well. We cannot know the number of such journals which were read in any local community. One Hamilton County farmer claimed that he was receiving twenty periodicals during the late eighties, but such a man was obviously far from typical.⁵³ The problems considered in the farm press were similar to those discussed in the agricultural columns of the *Freeman*, but the material, of course, lacked local flavor.

The work of farm organizations and agricultural agencies was less obvious than in these days of federal solicitude. The agricultural society of 1857 expired quickly and quietly in Hamilton County, but another was organized during 1867. Thereafter this organization sponsored annual fairs, where the local farmers might inspect farm products and animals of superior quality as well as farm machinery exhibits. Early in the decade of the 1870's a farmers' club was organized in one of the townships, but little record of its activity remains.⁵⁴ During 1872 and 1873 Hamilton farmers showed that they were conscious of the economic, social, and political grievances which caused the Patrons of Husbandry to spread like a prairie fire through rural Iowa. The Grangers organized eleven local chapters in the county, although this number fell far short of that in many counties.⁵⁵ In the meetings of the Grange, discussion ranged widely in search of ways to improve the social and economic position of the farmer. The Hamilton Granges united to sponsor the services of a purchasing agent in order to obtain agricultural supplies and machinery at lower prices. An agricultural

⁵¹ "R" in *ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1877.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Mar. 22, Apr. 12, 26, 1871; Apr. 8, 1873; Apr. 1, 1874; Mar. 28, 1883.

⁵³ Sketch of Oliver Templer in *Biographical Record and Portrait Album of Hamilton and Wright Counties* . . . (Chicago, 1889), 241-2.

⁵⁴ *Freeman*, Apr. 12, 1871.

⁵⁵ Mildred Throne, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 47:298 (October, 1949). The number eleven is based on a list given in the *Iowa Homestead*, 16:5 (November 28, 1873). Officers of only ten Hamilton Grange chapters appeared in the weekly listing of newly organized Granges published in the *Iowa Homestead*, and in one such instance only the name of the secretary was given.

paper of high merit served as the state organ of the Grange and undoubtedly had a wide circulation among the membership. The ardor of the Grangers soon cooled, however, and references to their activities became infrequent in the local paper after the mid-1870's. Local farmers, organized to help themselves, made up the agricultural club and the Grange chapters. The membership of the agricultural society was local also, but the state did provide a small grant which helped meet some of the costs of the fair.

By the 1870's the faculty members of the State Agricultural College were reaching out to their farm constituency in speeches, in addresses at fairs, and through the medium of the agricultural institute, but this work caused little newspaper comment in Hamilton County prior to 1885. Through the members of the Iowa congressional delegation the federal patent office, and later the bureau of agriculture, disseminated seeds to interested farmers, and some Hamilton farmers did test new varieties obtained in this way.⁵⁶

Agricultural implement men formed a local group whose members did their best to "educate" Hamilton farmers. Local mechanics and blacksmiths produced plows, horse rakes, or other simple machinery, and might also purchase patent or agency rights for the manufacture or sale of machinery. More important were a number of agricultural implement salesmen who specialized in the sale of machinery made by more distant manufacturers. Evidently E. O. Stevens established the first agricultural implement store in Webster City during 1865, and a competing establishment was doing business little more than a year later. Such local men competed with traveling salesmen, operating from the larger centers of population in Iowa. If the *Freeman* is a faithful reporter, the competition among the agricultural implement salesmen in the period was bitter and not only brought the most improved types of machinery to the region shortly after each technical advance but made it very difficult for the pioneer farmer to remain ignorant of the implements available. Within the twenty years after 1860, horse rakes, patent mole ditchers, mowers, reapers, ditching plows, breaking plows, stirring, riding, and gang plows, the Marsh harvester, the header, the reaper with wire binding attachment, riding corn planters, a variety of cultivators — riding and walking — and several makes of

⁵⁶ For a general discussion of the topics discussed in the last few paragraphs, see Earle D. Ross, *Iowa Agriculture: An Historical Survey* (Iowa City, 1951), 71-116; Mildred Throne, "Book Farming in Iowa, 1840-1870," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 49:117-42 (April, 1951).

threshing machines were presented to the farm population of Hamilton County. The message of mechanization was carried to the farmers in newspaper advertising, in farm-to-farm canvasses, in exhibits at the annual fair or at the local hotels, and by field trials on the farms of cooperative farmers.

A few regional or local problems of adaptation had some bearing on the agricultural machinery business in Hamilton County. Interest in drainage machinery appeared early in the history of the county. Residents of Lakin's Grove obtained one of Hammer's Patent Mole Ditchers in 1862 and began custom work with it in that year.⁵⁷ In 1867 the invention of a Hardin County man, John T. Miller's Improved Ditching Plow, was at work in Cass township.⁵⁸ Operated by two men with the aid of two yokes of oxen, this plow reputedly could cut from fifty to one hundred rods of ditch per day. William Howell of Webster City set himself to solve the problem of developing a plow that would scour in the wet, sticky soil of the county. The plow maker found it difficult to produce a plow which was hard enough to take a high polish and scour efficiently without making a brittle product. In 1868 Howell and Company ordered a plate of steel and iron welded together in Pittsburgh. With this material, Howell was convinced that the problem had been solved and sought a patent on his process. Whether he ever reaped the fortune that the *Freeman* editor had forecast for the man who could "furnish a plow that will scour," we cannot know, but the firm evidently did carry on an active business during the next few years.⁵⁹ The regional cropping adaptation in which Hamilton farmers placed greater emphasis upon corn in the mid-1870's was reflected by the widespread purchase of corn planters, riding corn plows, and corn cultivators in those years.

If a Hamilton farmer were interested in seeing new machinery at work and agricultural implement salesmen under stress, he could have attended field trials of mowers, plows, cultivators, hay rakes, harvesters, headers, and binders between 1865 and 1883.⁶⁰ Such tests often produced an aftermath of gloating and infuriated rebuttal in the local newspaper, as the agents of successful machines sought to capitalize on their success, and

⁵⁷ *Freeman*, July 19, 1862.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, July 17, 31, 1867.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1868.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1865; July 27, 1870; June 14, Oct. 18, 1871; Sept. 27, 1876; Aug. 23, 1879; July 26, 1882; July 25, 1883.

worsted rivals sought to explain the reasons for failure. In 1882 W. B. Howard, agent for the Adams and French binder, explained that the local Deering agents had flagrantly broken the rules in a local binder trial by using a machine which had already been thoroughly tested under a variety of cutting conditions, while he, on the other hand, had adhered to the rules and brought a factory-fresh binder to the trial with unfortunate results. Subsequent Deering advertisements caused him to explode, "It is said that the ordinary commercial traveler possesses the greatest amount of cheek of any known species of the animated creation. The government mule next, followed by the politician and 'machine agent,' but judging from a recent article . . . one would naturally conclude that the 'machine man' might yet be exalted to the rank preceding Uncle Sam's old standby."⁶¹

Obviously, Hamilton County farmers might learn of new ideas in a number of ways. The local newspapers and agricultural journals of the Middle West might plant the seeds of change. Self help organizations like the county agricultural society and the Grange might serve a like purpose. To some extent the State Agricultural College may have disseminated new ideas to county farmers. Since the pioneer population was fluid and in this case recruited from many states, migrants from the older settlements brought knowledge of a number of farming systems to the county as did immigrants. Local residents might also learn of innovations in farming practice through contacts outside the community. Finally, local experience might generate new solutions. In the background, of course, stood the price and marketing system, for farming was after all a business, and the individual's eagerness to change frequently stemmed from lessons in the market.

The pioneer farmer of Hamilton County was participating in at least two distinct processes. In a "settling in" process he acquired a farm and improved it while seeking to adapt to local and regional peculiarities of environment which demanded different answers than those he had perhaps learned in his old home. At the same time he was caught up by changes in farm technology and in the marketing system for agricultural products which were almost revolutionary in scope. These processes provided the framework in which the Hamilton pioneer must plan his farm business. Some of the decisions which he made involved the combination of enter-

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1882. The trial was described, July 26, 1882.

prises on his farm—that is, the amount of emphasis to be placed upon certain crops or animals. Should the farmer concentrate on livestock production? If so, should he emphasize sheep, hogs, or cattle, or a combination of them? If a decision were made in favor of cattle, should the farmer make quantities of cheese, as Henry Ten Eyck's manager was doing in the 1860's, or butter perhaps, or even try to sell fluid milk in the county seat? Or should he concentrate rather on the production of beef? Or should the farmer concentrate on the production of grain for sale? To what extent in any case should wheat be raised in comparison with corn, oats, and barley? Should this wheat be of winter or spring variety? Should the farmer add a new crop perhaps—say flax? Should he follow the advice of that enthusiastic pomologist Huitt Ross and plant an orchard?

Another type of decision might stem from the desire to improve the quality or quantity of production by substituting new varieties of the same field crops previously raised or improved breeds of livestock for mongrel animals. Should the Hamilton settler purchase a purebred Shorthorn bull from Colonel Scott of Nevada, and should he take his mares to the new Norman stallion recently brought to Webster City by the Willson brothers? Ought the seed oats to be purchased come from one of the farmers growing a new patent office variety? The technology of agriculture provided the pioneer farmer with another galaxy of decisions. With what materials should he fence? If he were on the prairie, and favored hedge, should it be osage orange or willow? Would barbed wire really injure livestock if he decided to use this? Should he purchase one of the new McCormick mowers, or a reaper, or a header, or a binder, or a corn planter, or a riding cultivator, or one of the considerable range of plows available? Should he follow the lead of Charles Aldrich and start to tile the sloughs on his eighty acres? Such were some of the decisions that the pioneer farmer of Hamilton County had to make and some of them were faced not once but several times, as the economic weather blew fair or cloudy.

Decisions, one must remember also, were often of an interlocking sort. Most of the new machinery, for instance, gave the farmer time to till more acres. Must these be purchased, or might they be rented? How should these acres be utilized? A decision to drain would ultimately give the farmer land of a different character; how would this affect his combination of enterprises? A decision concerning livestock often affected a farmer's cropping patterns, particularly the amount of hay to be cured or corn

raised. He was opening his farm, after all, in a period of rapid technological advance in agriculture, while he was still uncertain of the potential of his acres, and we can forgive him if he had trouble making up his mind.

In his book *The Model Farms and Their Methods*, Samuel T. K. Prime described twenty farms, scattered through the state of Iowa at the end of the decade of the 1870's.⁶² Although Prime's method of selection is unknown, we can agree that some one of competence believed that the proprietors of these farms were leaders in the task of making Iowa farming more efficient and profitable. The ideas and attitudes of these men can perhaps give us some assistance in identifying the leadership group in Hamilton County. Not all of Prime's farmers described the size of their holdings, but the average farm size among those who did was 355 acres in a year when the state average was 112 acres. They were cost conscious and often gave production cost figures, although these were in terms of crops or livestock rather than in terms of the farm business as a whole. Such men were interested in farm building design and in the plans of homemade machines, stackers, buck rakes, and the like. When they listed machinery inventories these showed them to be utilizing the new agricultural technology, as the size of their farm units, of course, demanded.

Prime's farmers grew the usual field crops, but there was much agreement that wheat was not a particularly profitable crop and that corn should be emphasized instead. A striking number were convinced that the most profitable way of handling home-grown grain was to feed it to stock. Most of them were growing timothy or clover, and some mentioned blue grass pastures, although in the northwestern quarter of the state prairie pasture and prairie hay was still the rule. More than a quarter of these farmers were growing a few acres of artichokes for hog feed. A few claimed definite crop rotations. About one-half mentioned that they had planted artificial groves on their farms and about the same proportion mentioned orchards or the growing of small fruits for family use. Only one farmer made the point that he did not use manures as yet; most mentioned their use, and one man testified that he was using clover as a green manure. Although the farms in the newer portion of the state were not all fenced as yet, hedge and plain or barbed wire were all mentioned as fencing

⁶² Samuel T. K. Prime, *The Model Farms and Their Methods* . . . (Chicago, 1880), 425-533. Earle D. Ross has analyzed the book as a whole in "A Neglected Source of Corn Belt History: Prime's *Model Farms*," *Agricultural History*, 24:108-112 (April, 1950).

materials, with some reservations expressed about hedge fencing and the occasional assertion that barbed wire fencing was much the cheapest type. Although only about a quarter of the "model farmers" mentioned drainage, those who did emphasized its importance very strongly, with realization general among them that tile was a superior answer to simple ditching or to mole or "gopher" drainage.

A few of the smaller operators displayed no interest in improved stock, but a larger number of the model farmers emphasized the importance of purebred or at least high grade stock. One man was importing Poland China breeding stock from Ohio, and another made a practice of showing his animals at fairs. Several of those who fed numbers of steers preferred to force young cattle and to sell them when they were still a year or so below the four years at which most steers probably still reached the market. One farmer forecast that the four-year-old steer would soon be a thing of the past.

The columns of the *Hamilton Freeman* show that the attitudes and interests which marked the leaders of Samuel Prime were also present in Hamilton County. Here some men were alert to shift their combination of enterprises in search of larger returns, to use purebred or high quality stock and introduce new crops or varieties of seed. Some farmers tried different cultivation practices, installed tile drainage, used new types of fencing or methods of feeding stock. Some sought to improve the arrangement of their farm buildings and used improved machinery before their neighbors. A few corresponded with agricultural journals. The county newspaper, biographical histories, and agricultural society reports reveal at least 110 individuals between 1858 and 1885 whose farming operations were progressive in one or more such ways or who held major offices in the agricultural society or Grange. Here certainly appear the names of most of those whom we can term agricultural leaders in pioneer Hamilton County.

Farm operations differed in both scale and combination of enterprises, as we have already pointed out, but there were differences in purpose and in methods of control as well. During the pioneer period in Hamilton County, large-scale farms belonging to eastern owners appeared, there were farms run in conjunction with droving operations, and there were farms owned by businessmen from the county seat or other prairie hamlet. The tenant and manager was no stranger to the agricultural frontier. At least one operator probably regarded his operations as a source of agricultural copy.

In the majority, of course, were the resident operators seeking to maximize profits while providing a home for themselves and their families. In hope of discovering some clues to the process of innovation, let us survey the operations of some members of these groups who also appeared in the list of agricultural leaders.

In the early 1860's Henry Ten Eyck of Cazenovia, New York, began to develop some 6,000 acres of land in the southwestern part of Hamilton County which he had obtained from the Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company. Ten Eyck's first western manager later claimed that he spent some \$33,000 in improving the property and in the purchase of stock during the first five years of the decade. Much of the land was put into cultivation at this time, fences and several houses built and a blacksmith shop and sawmill erected. In these years Ten Eyck employed a force of ten or twelve men the year round. As many as 2,500 sheep grazed his holdings in the early years, and in Vermont Ten Eyck purchased the "celebrated thoroughbred Spanish buck, Union" avowedly for shipment to Iowa. His first manager also turned to cheese-making. In 1865 the New Yorker sent out a three-furrow gang plow and a Comstock rotary spader for use on his holdings. The local editor seized the occasion to commend Ten Eyck for his enterprise and his "confidence in 'progress and improvement.'" Three years later Ten Eyck sold a half interest in the Hamilton County farm to Colonel Charles Whitaker and apparently also turned to tenancy as a method of managing his holdings. In the 1870's he began to sell his Hamilton County land to resident farmers and had almost completed this task by the date of his death in 1884.

The titles of the Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company were challenged by resident settlers in Hamilton, as well as in neighboring counties, but Ten Eyck seems to have been more successful than other company grantees in defending his title and maintaining the respect of the community. Efforts were made to burn the stacks of one of his managers, but the New Yorker's policy of buying quit claim deeds from those who contested his title may well have kept such action to a minimum. Certainly the local editor gave him an excellent press and was to call him a "man of much culture," and a "kindly whole-souled, gentleman."⁶³

⁶³ *Freeman*, May 3, 1862; Apr. 29, 1865; July 3, Aug. 14, 1867; May 13, July 22, 1868; Aug. 2, 1871; June 27, Oct. 31, 1877; Apr. 16, 1884. The biographical sketches of Hiram Carpenter and I. M. Greenwood contain accounts of Ten Eyck's operations.

Ten Eyck's efforts were not unique, although on a larger scale than any comparable operation in the county. In 1860 Joseph F. Burr of Mount Holly, New Jersey, began to open up a farm of some 2,320 acres. Here he proposed to carry on a dairy and stock raising business. Like Ten Eyck he also believed that there were profits to be garnered in the production of cheese, and in 1861 Burr evidently sold a few barrels of Iowa cheese on the Philadelphia market. He reported at the time to an Iowa correspondent that he was convinced that cheese and butter could be shipped to the East from Iowa profitably if the product were a good one. By 1868 Burr had sold his Iowa property, but the farmer who took over also carried on the cheese business for a time.⁶⁴ Another illustration of the nonresident operation was provided by T. Y. Brown of New York who in 1877 hired a manager to break and improve a section of land in the county.⁶⁵

Nonresident owners like Ten Eyck and Brown and Burr provided the local farmers with examples of large-scale operations which were strictly commercial in intent. Such men had adequate capital to test the profitability of a number of farm enterprises, and enough acreage to make the use of a good deal of machinery immediately advisable. In their emphasis upon livestock and in the scale of their operations, they forecast long-run trends in the agriculture of the region. We could wish to know much more of the reaction of the rank-and-file frontier farmer to such neighbors. Their employees and tenants looked east for orders; they were in, but not completely of, the community. In the case of Ten Eyck the conflict over land titles made his enterprise anathema to all those who sympathized with the riverland squatters. Even when land titles were secure, local feeling on the frontier was often bitter against the nonresident eastern owner. Although the choicest invective was reserved for the nonresident speculator who sought merely to hold unimproved land for a rise in price, the easterner who tried to develop his holdings might well encounter distrust as well. For these reasons men like Ten Eyck and Burr probably had less effect in guiding the changing agriculture of Hamilton County than one at first might suspect, although there was much in their example to provide valuable lessons for their neighbors.

See *A Biographical Record of Hamilton County . . .* (Chicago, 1902), 585-7, 481-2. The description of the land business is based on study of the *Deed Index and Registers* in the office of the Hamilton County recorder, Webster City.

⁶⁴ *Freeman*, June 2, 1860; Jan. 5, 1861; Apr. 3, 1867.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1877.

The farm community in Hamilton County included two men who were closely associated with agricultural journalism. During the 1870's Charles Aldrich wrote agricultural columns for at least one Chicago newspaper while trying to farm progressively to the north of Webster City. As early as 1871 the *Freeman* noted that Aldrich was keeping fine Poland China and Berkshire hogs on the farm which was then operated by his father. By the mid-1870's Aldrich was advertising "thoroughbred" Jerseys, Berkshire hogs, Italian bees, Dominique chickens, and black Cayuga ducks for sale. Aldrich planted timothy and clover seed on his acres and by 1880 claimed 1,200 thrifty trees in two orchards. Evidently also he introduced tile drainage in a county where much land was swampy in character, obtaining 3,000 feet of tile from a manufacturer in Chicago during 1878. The *Freeman* described such activities enthusiastically to its readers, and Aldrich himself occasionally contributed to the paper. His operations, however, were never on an impressive scale, and there was evidently some distrust of his ideas in the county.⁶⁶ We cannot know the number of Hamilton County farmers who had "an eye for blood" and took the advice of the editor of the *Freeman* to "avail themselves of the advantages . . . offered to improve their stock" by purchase from Aldrich, but certainly his farm operations and writing must have contributed to increased awareness among his neighbors of the value of blooded stock, tame grasses, and tile drainage.⁶⁷

Much more the dirt farmer than Charles Aldrich was Oliver Templer who also was born in the state of New York. Although he first came to Iowa in 1857, Templer did not begin to improve the land in Ellsworth township, which his uncles had purchased for him in 1855, until the late 1860's. Then, in partnership with his brother, he improved his land rapidly and claimed that for several years they raised the largest amount of small grain in the township. By the late 1880's they had seeded their land and now claimed to be carrying on the largest stock business in the township

⁶⁶ J. W. Lee, *History of Hamilton County, Iowa, Illustrated* (2 vols., Chicago, 1912), 1:208. See the mocking reference to Aldrich by a political opponent on p. 209: "If his virtuous intentions had only taken shape and form in some law for the culture of blue grass, or the domestication of jay birds. . . ."

⁶⁷ There were numerous references to Aldrich in the *Freeman*. Items bearing directly on his agricultural activities are to be found in the issues of Sept. 6, 1871; Apr. 12, June 7, 1876; Oct. 10, 1877; Apr. 24, May 22, July 3, 1878; May 5, 1880; Sept. 20, 1882. A biographical sketch is to be found in *Biographical Record of Hamilton County*, 436-43.

with a herd of 140 graded Shorthorns. At this time Templer was correspondent for the *Country Gentleman and Cultivator*, the *Farmer* of St. Paul, and *Coleman's Occasional World*, as well as a contributor to the *Hamilton Freeman*. Templer received some twenty periodicals regularly himself and served as a state crop reporter.⁶⁸ The farming operations of the brothers conformed to the changing trends of local agriculture, and the scale of their business must have provided an impressive example to neighbors. Oliver Templer's wide reading undoubtedly made him familiar with new ideas in agriculture and responsive to local opportunities. Like Aldrich, he doubtless served as a conduit through which new ideas were spread among the pioneer farm population.

Active from very early days in Hamilton County was a group whose members might be called stock dealer farmers. Most impressive of this type in early Hamilton County was A. D. Arthur. In the mid-1860's he centered his droving business on Webster City, buying up cattle through the surrounding country and cutting large amounts of prairie hay for feed. By the early 1870's he was buying considerable numbers of cattle in Minnesota and in June of 1873 was grazing some 600 head on the prairies of Hamilton County for fall or winter sale. At about the same time in the next year the number in Arthur's grazing herd stood at 1,200, although these were held in partnership with Charles Fenton.

By 1879 Charles Aldrich described the large dairy farm which Arthur had established some five miles to the south of Webster City. Here were stanchions and stable room to accommodate one hundred cows. These Arthur purchased as mature animals after freshening, and then usually shipped them to Chicago for beef as soon as they went dry. While producing, the cows received rations of hay and pure corn meal. Aldrich wrote that Arthur planned to keep most of the farm in tame grasses and clover, purchasing whatever grain he required. In that year he had experimented with a fodder crop of mixed barley, oats, and flax with some success, but this was evidently a stopgap until the fields could be seeded with blue grass in the low lands and red clover and timothy elsewhere. The milk from the cows was skimmed and butter churned for shipment directly to a commission agent in New York City. Although he had purchased his farm before the collapse in land values of the mid-1870's and had also invested to a considerable extent in buildings as well, Arthur estimated that the farm

⁶⁸ *Biographical Record . . . Hamilton and Wright Counties*, 241-2.

returned 10 per cent on the investment after he had split the profits with his tenant and manager.

No further references to the dairy business appeared in the *Freeman*, but Arthur's operations as a stock dealer and feeder continued to draw comment. In June of 1879 he was pasturing some 1,200 head of cattle in Wright County, again in partnership with Charles Fenton. In November of 1882 he was feeding a hundred head of cattle on the farm south of Webster City. In the next year he took a carload of horses east to Massachusetts for sale. A few months later the editor noted that A. D. Arthur was "getting to be a 'cattle king'," having just sold 700 head of three-year-old steers to Chicago parties who proposed to fatten them at Peoria for the eastern market. At about this time Arthur widened the scope of his activities and established a ranch in Montana to which he shipped considerable numbers of young stock that he had purchased in the Hamilton County area.⁶⁹

At times Arthur worked in partnership with Charles Fenton, and the latter's name also appeared several times on the list of leaders drawn up by the writer. Fenton was one of a number of local men, instrumental in bringing large numbers of sheep to the county in the early 1860's and prided himself on the quality of fleece produced by some of his imports. Subsequently he would be interested in purebred cattle also. In 1865 the partners kept two mowers in operation cutting hay for their stock at a time when this item of equipment was not too common in the county.⁷⁰ Unlike Arthur, Fenton seems never to have held one of the top positions in the local agricultural society, but a member of his family did so.

Although it is sometimes hard to distinguish between the active cattle dealer and the resident farm operator who carried on an extensive feeding operation, there were several other men who were primarily cattle dealers active in the Webster City area during this period. Charles Biematzki, Joe Roskopf, Alex Thompson, and Michael Sweeney were all evidently stock dealers at one time or another. Much of the pasturage used by such

⁶⁹ A. D. Arthur's business is mentioned or described in the *Freeman*, Sept. 22, 1865; Nov. 2, 1866; Sept. 25, 1867; June 8, 1870; Feb. 22, Mar. 1, 1871; May 8, Dec. 11, 1872; May 28, June 11, 1873; Mar. 18, Apr. 22, May 27, July 15, 1874; May 21, June 18, 1879; Nov. 1, 1882; June 13, Sept. 12, 1883; Mar. 24, Apr. 30, 1884; May 20, 1885. For a biographical sketch, see *Biographical Record . . . Hamilton and Wright Counties*, 290. I am also indebted to Mr. Herbert Arthur of Ames, Iowa, for information concerning the business of his grandfather.

⁷⁰ *Freeman*, June 24, July 29, Sept. 2, 1865; Nov. 2, 1866; Sept. 25, 1867.

men, of course, was provided by the unbroken lands of nonresidents or the public domain which remained in the counties to the north. Sweeney at least was prepared to provide local farmers with stock on a partnership basis, which allowed the local operator without capital to sell his labor in a feeder operation.⁷¹

Members of the stock dealer group were probably important as agricultural leaders to a degree far out of proportion to their numbers. They did considerable to shape the local market structure, since they bought livestock in large numbers and grain in considerable quantities from the local farmers, establishing personal bonds with many of them in this way. The prosperity and success of the stock dealer group marked them as men worth emulating. The importance of their example is well illustrated by an incident which occurred in 1870 when A. D. Arthur sold the reaper which he had purchased some time previously. The agent of the reaper firm thereupon obtained a letter from Arthur for publication in the local paper in which this stock dealer farmer certified that he had sold the implement because he had no grain crop rather than because he was dissatisfied with the operation of the machine.⁷²

A number of men who can be regarded primarily as county seat businessmen were directly involved in farming. A druggist of Webster City, L. L. Estes, was dealing in cattle by the 1870's and maintaining a farm some nine miles north of Webster City in southern Wright County which embraced 1,120 acres in 1884. In the early 1880's he was grazing as many as 1,000 head of cattle on the open prairies of Wright County during the summer and bringing numbers of such steers to his farm for winter feeding in the fall. A reporter of the *Freeman* inspected the farm in October of 1882 and described 112 steers which had just been brought in from the range herd. They ranged in weight from 1,400 to 1,600 pounds and would, the manager expected, weigh as much as 2,000 pounds by the middle of February when it was planned to sell them on the "eastern market." Hogs and shoats were scavenging in the feed pen and doing well. Grazing in timothy and clover pasture fields was a milking herd of twenty-one cows and some one hundred head of yearling steers and calves. The latter represented the foundation of the grazing herd for the next summer, and their numbers would be increased to some 500 head by the next

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1873; June 9, 1875; Sept. 14, 1876.

⁷² *Ibid.*, May 18, 1870.

spring. Estes purchased large amounts of corn for the feeding operations from nearby farmers.⁷³

Sumler Willson and his brother, Walter C., were the major town promoters of Webster City in the 1850's and continued to be active in real estate development and a number of business enterprises there throughout the pioneer period in Hamilton County. During the 1860's Sumler Willson was dealing in cattle as well as in town lots, and his direct participation in agricultural affairs apparently continued. In the mid-1870's he and his brother imported a Norman stallion from the East. On the second of July, 1879, a *Freeman* reporter visited Sumler Willson's farm, which lay just to the northwest of the town. Here he observed fifty acres of corn which had been drilled one way rather than planted in hills and which at the time stood over seven feet in height. Willson believed that the method of planting produced an increased yield of at least one-third, and the field impelled the reporter to exclaim, "If one could transport one of those old farmers from off the rocky hills of Pennsylvania, New York or New Hampshire, and set him down in the midst of such a field of corn as this, why, he wouldn't believe it! He would turn on his heel and swear that . . . it was some sort of fungus weeds that were growing there!" At this time Willson was improving his herd of grade Shorthorns by introducing purebred stock, and there were some dozen of the latter on his farm. A fine drove of hogs of the Poland China breed were enjoying the comforts of a "very convenient hog house," where a number of devices designed to make the feeding process as efficient as possible caught the reporter's eye.⁷⁴

The biographical sketches of early Hamilton County residents reveal a dozen other pioneer Webster City business leaders who owned farms and, since the sketches were by no means all-inclusive, there were undoubtedly more. As in the case of the stock dealer farmers, these men were respected and substantial members of the community whose example would be noticed and whose personal influence was considerable. Their farms in the majority of cases, however, were farmed by tenants, and the effect which this might have in inhibiting innovation is debatable. Leasing terms could

⁷³ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1876; June 11, Oct. 29, 1879; Aug. 11, Oct. 11, 1882; May 9, Aug. 22, 1883; May 7, June 18, Aug. 6, 1884; *Biographical Record of Hamilton County*, 446-8.

⁷⁴ *Freeman*, July 14, Aug. 18, 1866; Jan. 6, 1875; July 2, 1879. Quoted passages are found in the last reference. See also *Biographical Record . . . Hamilton and Wright Counties*, 376-83.

be written to foster improved practices, but we do not know whether this was indeed the case. We can, however, isolate the group as one in which the members were interested in exploiting the opportunities for profit in agriculture to the maximum.

Some resident operators stood apart from the remainder because of the striking scale of their businesses. Such a man was Judge Rose whose name Rose Grove township now bears. A local historian described him in terms which catch the attention of anyone interested in innovation:

As a farmer, he was an enthusiast, and always expected to receive large financial returns, while benefitting the community at the same time by introducing new crops or new methods. Everybody . . . in the county at that time remembers his attempt to revolutionize farming and hog-raising by the introduction of his Jerusalem artichoke. Nearly everybody caught the fever, . . . but the whole scheme flattened out and left him a great loser.⁷⁵

Colonel Charles Whitaker purchased at least 720 acres from Henry Ten Eyck in 1868 and farmed in the southwestern corner of Hamilton County for some years. Whitaker maintained a large flock of sheep, was particularly interested in purebred Shorthorns, and took an active part in the formation of the Grange in his district.⁷⁶ In the 1870's and early 1880's three large farms were established whose proprietors specialized in raising high quality horses.⁷⁷ At the very end of the period, M. H. Brinton, a graduate of Allegheny College in Pennsylvania, came out to Hamilton County to assume control of lands purchased from the government by his father in 1856. When the first of the biographical histories of the county was published in 1889, the family still held 1,800 acres in the county, and young Brinton was managing the Keystone Stock Farm which boasted, so it was said, some of the best Herefords and Shorthorns in the state.⁷⁸ One is tempted to call large operators of the stamp of Rose, Whitaker, and Brinton, the early corn belt gentry.

When the nonresident, the journalist, the stock dealer, the prairie county seat businessman, and the large resident operator have been discussed, the historian is still left with the majority of the county farmers, the men

⁷⁵ Lee, *History of Hamilton County*, 1:152.

⁷⁶ Freeman, July 22, 1868; May 10, 1876; *Biographical Record . . . Hamilton and Wright Counties*, 318.

⁷⁷ Freeman, Apr. 2, 1884.

⁷⁸ *Biographical Record . . . Hamilton and Wright Counties*, 267-8.

whom Charles Aldrich hoped would be "strong-handed, practical, and economical."⁷⁹ Within this group some farmers catch the eye, either because of greater knowledge or because they were more articulate than their fellows. A Pennsylvanian by birth, Hiram Carpenter came to the Webster City area in 1860 and for five years directed the improvement of the Ten Eyck holdings. Then he purchased a quarter section nearby and turned to farming for himself. Although his own operations were never large, he was interested in efficient methods and was a local expert on stock diseases and cures. As early as 1870 he had fitted his barn with stanchions which were a novelty in the county, but which he believed saved feed and were much safer than rope fastenings, as well as more convenient when stabling stock. In 1871 Carpenter reported that he could sow 150 bushels of oats in three and a half hours by using an ox cart and sowing broadcast while a boy drove the oxen — a rate of seeding equal to machine broadcast sowers.⁸⁰ Huitt Ross was also associated with Ten Eyck for a time and eventually enjoyed a reputation similar to that of Carpenter. Ross was enthusiastic in the cause of fruit growing and was sufficiently skilled that he produced at least one new variety of apple tree. Occasionally Ross wrote to the editor of the *Freeman* concerning farm problems. By the late 1870's he was convinced that the local farmers should grow more stock, and in 1879 he suggested that the citizens of Hamilton County should set aside a day on which to plant trees on farms and roadways.⁸¹

Although never attracting as much mention in the press as Carpenter or Ross, W. W. Boak was another of the leaders found in the dirt farmer group. Born in Virginia, he was among the county's earliest settlers, when he took up residence in 1855 on land entered for him by his father-in-law. When the corn crop failed in 1858 he doled out the surplus which he had accumulated over the two previous years to poor settlers on credit, rather than selling it all for cash to the highest bidder. Thereafter he enjoyed the respect of the community. At an early time Boak was placing heavy emphasis upon livestock production and upon improving the quality of stock. Prior to 1885 he was to be president of the agricultural society twice and once treasurer. As were both Ross and Carpenter, Boak was an active

⁷⁹ *Freeman*, June 29, 1857.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1870; Apr. 5, 1871; Jan. 10, 1872; *Biographical Record of Hamilton County*, 585-7.

⁸¹ *Freeman*, Aug. 14, 1867; Oct. 11, 1876; Apr. 17, 1878; Mar. 26, 1879.

Granger and served as county delegate to the state Grange convention on a number of occasions.⁸²

None could accuse Boak, or Ross, or Carpenter of not being practical farmers, and in this they differed from most of those discussed above. Undoubtedly, however, this very fact increased the confidence of their neighbors in their good judgment and gave their example and advice great weight among the rank and file of local farmers.

After this survey of Hamilton County farmers a few general questions need consideration. What type of individual provided the leadership in the agricultural society and the Grange? What was the significance of different cultural groups in developing local resources? Did Hamilton County leaders display any common social characteristics?

The annual reports of the agricultural society give the names of thirty-nine men who filled one or more of the four major offices in that organization between its organization in late 1867 and the year 1890.⁸³ Some of these men held such office for only a year, others for as many as five. Biographical information or the census returns of 1880 can tell us something of twenty-four of the men.⁸⁴ Twelve were permanent residents of the county seat or else lived there for extended periods of time prior to retirement. This group included two mayors of Webster City, three of the leading bankers, and several county officers as well as A. D. Arthur and L. L. Estes. A number of implications may be drawn from this finding. In the first place the city fathers wished to encourage the agricultural society, in part no doubt because the annual fair was good for trade, but also because the prosperity of the business community was linked closely to the welfare of the farmers. Reasonably enough, the bankers represented on the board of the society frequently held the position of treasurer. Finally, many of the businessmen of Webster City were not only interested in agriculture, they were involved in it. At least six of the town residents serving the agricultural society, and probably more, owned farm real estate. Community leadership and self help went hand in hand in such cases.

The farm units of fifteen of the agricultural society officer group can be

⁸² *Ibid.*, May 24, 1884; *Biographical Record . . . Hamilton and Wright Counties*, 298-304.

⁸³ This list was compiled from the *Annual Reports* of the Iowa State Agricultural Society.

⁸⁴ Manuscript, "Iowa Agricultural Census Returns, 1880," in the collection of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

identified in the 1880 census returns. The average size stood at 234 acres in comparison to the county average in that year of 112 acres. Of fourteen who submitted returns for farming operations in the previous year, six had fed cattle on a considerable scale and three others had fattened cattle in previous years. The census of 1880 shows that approximately one out of every fifteen farmers in Hamilton County had either bought or sold as many as twenty cattle in the previous year or else reported "other cattle" in such numbers as to suggest that they were cattle feeders. Evidently the farming interest represented in the leadership of the agricultural society differed from the rank and file of Hamilton farmers in both scale of operations and in combination of enterprises.

Farmers organized eleven Grange chapters in Hamilton County during 1872 and 1873. The names of the first masters of nine chapters appeared in the *Iowa Homestead*. Biographical sketches of five of these men exist. The biography of W. W. Boak does not mention the amount of his education. Charles Whitaker, Ira Tremain, H. S. Orris, and J. W. Lee quite obviously had more education than the ordinary farmer.⁸⁵ Whitaker was a graduate of an eastern college, and Tremain finished his schooling at an eastern academy. Both Orris and Lee had themselves taught school. Four of the five also held elective office in the county or at the township level, and the fifth, Whitaker, had previously served in the war with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In addition to holding local office, Tremain ultimately represented the county in the state assembly.

The names of five of the nine Grange masters also appeared in the list of farmers who followed improved practices at an early date; in all cases they were advocates of improved stock. Two of the Grange masters, Boak and Tremain, also served the agricultural society in leading positions. Although they were not masters in the original organization of the Hamilton chapters, both Huitt Ross and Hiram Carpenter were prominent Grangers. It is difficult to discover the names of those who held minor office in the Grange, but the *Freeman* printed the complete slate of eleven male officers in the Saratoga chapter in early 1874.⁸⁶ Ten of these men returned agricultural schedules in the 1870 census. These showed that on the average they farmed units of 134 acres as compared to the township average of

⁸⁵ *Biographical Record . . . Hamilton and Wright Counties*, 298-304, 318, 306, 385, 366.

⁸⁶ *Freeman*, Jan. 7, 1874.

129 acres. Only two of them were to be found among the twenty-four cattle feeders in the township in 1880. Ten out of the eleven, however, held township office during the 1870's or early 1880's.⁸⁷

The census of 1860 listed 151 foreign-born in Hamilton County and that of 1880, 2,613, in comparison to some 8,500 native-born. The members of the foreign-born group were adults for the most part, however, and a count of foreign-born householders, who listed themselves as farmers, revealed some 700 in the county as a whole in 1880, while the corresponding figure for the native-born was greater by approximately 50. Most of the foreign-born farmers were Scandinavian or German by birth, but between 20 and 30 per cent had come from Great Britain, Ireland, or Canada. The birthplaces of the native-born farmers were also widely scattered, with New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa listed most frequently. The Yankee strain was unquestionably dominant among the native-born farmers, but a substantial group mentioned commonwealths below the Ohio River or the Mason-Dixon line as their place of birth, and some were of southern stock who gave Indiana or Illinois as their native state.⁸⁸ Unquestionably the pioneer farmers brought a wide range of experience to the task of farm making in Hamilton County.

Did the farming operations of the foreign-born and native-born in pioneer Hamilton differ substantially? An answer to this question was sought from a sample of 195 pairs of foreign-born and native-born farmers who lived adjacent to each other in 1880 and from a second sample of 150 foreign-born and native-born farmers, obtained by selecting 70 foreign-born and 80 native-born farmers from the census rolls at random. Analysis of the agricultural census schedules of the farmers in these groups revealed a number of differences between the foreign-born and native-born. Since exclusion of the foreign-born whose native language was English tended to sharpen the contrasts, the following discussion is in terms of the European-born and the native-born farmers. The latter, in 1880, tilled larger farms, had a greater investment in machinery, kept more "other cattle" and larger numbers of swine on the average than did the European-born

⁸⁷ Through the kindness of Mrs. Percy Neese of Stanhope, I was able to prepare a list of the early township officers of Hamilton township from the township minute book which she holds in her capacity as township clerk.

⁸⁸ Since the national origins of farmers as a group were not analyzed in the federal census of 1880, the comments in this paragraph are based for the most part on analysis of the samples discussed in the next paragraph.

farmers. All of these comparisons show that the capital investment of the European-born was smaller than that of the native-born farmers.⁸⁹

Distinctions between native and European-born are less easy to make when we seek to compare the way in which the two groups utilized their improved acreage. In absolute terms, the native-born farmers grew more corn, but when these acreages were reduced to percentages of improved land no great difference was apparent. In both samples the European farmers showed a slight tendency to plant a higher percentage of their improved land in wheat, but the differences were slight. Both in absolute and relative terms the native-born farmers grew more oats, but this crop was the least important of the three grain crops. In summary, we can say that the farms of the native-born more accurately forecast the patterns of the future than did those of the European farmers, but, on the basis of our evidence, we would be rash to ascribe differences to any factor other than lack of capital, no matter how tempting the speculation that ethnic and lingual barriers might restrict the information on which the European-born farmer based his decisions or that cultural conditioning might in part account for the fact that European-born farmers had as many milk cows but considerably fewer "other cattle" than did natives of the United States. On the other hand, ethnic or lingual barriers may well have narrowed the access of the foreign-born farmer to local sources of credit.

⁸⁹ Choosing a township at random, I selected the sample of neighbors by noting the names of foreign-born farmers as they appeared on the rolls of the population census, taking the name of the next native-born farmer in each case as well, and continuing until no more pairs of this sort could be drawn. Then the procedure was repeated. The agricultural schedules of the members of the foreign-born and native-born groups to the number of 195 in each case were then copied from the agricultural census rolls. This method of selection, it was believed, would eliminate distortions in comparisons of the two groups arising from the fact that the longer-settled areas along the Boone River had been occupied principally by native-born farmers, and their farm units had been in process of improvement for a longer period of time than most farms back from the river where the foreign-born were common. On the other hand, this method of selection tended to exclude foreign-born farmers who had no close native-born neighbors. The random sample of 80 native-born and 70 foreign-born farmers (10 per cent of each group) was selected by using random numbers and counting farmers on the population census rolls until all of the matching numbers had been located. Two farm units in the county out of 1,565 were larger than a section in size. These were arbitrarily excluded from the random sample because inclusion of one or the other would have distorted the means. Comparison of the means in the random sample showed statistically significant differences at the 5 per cent level in the case of farm size, "other cattle," and swine. The three *z* values were 2.24, 2.84, and 2.44. Miss Rosemary Bougie and Mr. Leonard Smith assisted me in transcribing and analyzing the census data.

TABLE I
Farming patterns of the native-born and European-born farmers in
Hamilton County, 1880

	<i>Native-Born (Random)</i>	<i>Native-Born (Neighbors)</i>	<i>Born in Europe (Neighbors)</i>	<i>Born in Europe (Random)</i>
<i>General</i>				
Farm size, acres	138	123	109	107
Per cent improved	65	68	63	76.5
Value of machinery	\$174	189	157	156
<i>Crops</i>				
<i>Corn</i>				
Acres per farm	36.4	35.2	30.7	31.2
Per cent of improved acres	40.4	38	42	38.1
<i>Wheat</i>				
Acres per farm	17.5	13.7	14.8	16.6
Per cent of improved acres	19.4	15	20	20.3
<i>Oats</i>				
Acres per farm	9.5	11.9	5.3	5.5
Per cent of improved acres	10.5	12.9	7.4	6.8
<i>Livestock</i>				
Milk cows	5.7	5.5	5.5	5.5
Other cattle	12	10.2	9.5	6.6
Swine	29.5	27.5	22.7	19

Livestock numbers increased considerably in Hamilton County during the 1880's. The manuscript census rolls of 1880 show that 85 Hamilton farmers either bought or sold as many as 20 cattle in the previous year. This method of selection excludes a few farmers who owned large herds of cattle and includes a few men who were primarily stock dealers but certainly does give us a considerable number of the cattle feeders who led in placing greater emphasis upon livestock in the county at the end of the pioneer period. The members of this group farmed 172 acres on the average, valued at \$3,300, as compared to the county averages of 112 acres and \$1,970. Although 20 per cent of the county farmers were tenants, only 16 per cent of the feeder group did not own their farms. Up to some point in middle age, farmers in general accumulate capital. Despite this rule and the fact that they operated larger units in a type of farming which demanded more capital than simple grain farming, the cattle feeders were not appreciably older on the average than some 1,400 other county farm-

ers.⁹⁰ Within the group of 85 the ratio of foreign-born to native-born farmers was roughly one to four and a half. Within the farmers of the county as a whole this ratio was one to less than one and a half.⁹¹

Although the progressive farmer of one census year might well have settled down to humdrum complacency ten years later, something may be gained by a little closer analysis of the list of 110 agricultural leaders which was mentioned earlier. Forty-five members of the group returned agricultural schedules in 1880, showing the average farm size to be 203 acres and the average valuation \$4,474. Only four tenants appeared among the 45. Biographical data for all members of the group are not available, but 24 of them did hold political office at the county level or above. This method of establishing political leadership, of course, works a hardship on the Democratic or independent candidates in the county who seldom defeated the Republicans but who still held the confidence of many. Three members of the group of 110 ran strongly as candidates of the minority parties on occasion. Twelve other members of the 110 held offices of political trust on the township level, and this group might swell considerably if lists of all township officers could be found. But at least 39 members of the group of 110 did demonstrate leadership in a field of interest which was not directly related to agriculture.

In retrospect we can hazard a few generalizations about the process of agricultural innovation in Hamilton County during the pioneer period. Nothing in the local press shows that the stages through which the individual passed in the process of adopting a new method were much different than is the case today. Communication media were less varied, however, and the reliability of information undoubtedly inferior. To the local farmers the county paper and the agricultural press brought a message of progressive agriculture, and the local agricultural society and Grange chapters worked to the same end. At this range it is difficult if not impossible to draw the distinction between innovator, community adoption leader, and local adoption leader that the sociologist can make today. We are safe in saying, however, that the search for the most profitable combination of enterprises, the spirit of inquiry, a sense of noblesse oblige, and occasionally even the desire for agricultural copy led to innovation. Illustrations of the practical use of new machinery, of the superior qualities of pure-

⁹⁰ The nearest whole number to both means was 42.

⁹¹ This difference is statistically significant at the one per cent level.

bred sires, of the merits of clover and of tile drainage were found frequently at an early stage of community acceptance on the farms of the nonresident proprietor, the stock dealer, and the county seat farmer, as well as on a small proportion of the farms tilled by owner-operators. No matter the category into which such a proprietor fell, he tended to have a larger than average holding and capital investment. Usually he was native-born; he was not appreciably above average in age; and he was more likely than most to be tapped for political office. His level of education was probably somewhat above average. On the farms of such men were first traced the unique patterns of corn belt agriculture in Hamilton County.

DOCUMENT
REMINISCENCES OF JACOB C. SWITZER
OF THE 22ND IOWA
*Edited by Mildred Throne**

PART II¹

After the siege of Vicksburg, Grant's Army which was composed of three corps was broken up. The 13th Corps, to which we belonged, was sent to General Banks,² who commanded the Army of the Gulf with headquarters at New Orleans. While the siege of Vicksburg was progressing, General Banks was conducting a siege at Port Hudson, another very strongly fortified point on the river. But the fall of Vicksburg on [July 4, 1863], caused the Confederates to surrender at Port Hudson on July 8th, and left the river open for passage for boats from its head waters to its mouth, unmolested by Confederate fortifications. After a few weeks recuperation and rest at Vicksburg, we were placed upon the Mississippi boat known as a marine boat.³ The marine boat was constructed from an ordinary river boat, boarded up and down with heavy planking along and around the sides to protect the inmates from musketry shots from bushwhackers. In the planking, there were cut loop holes or small holes to fire through in case of

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¹ Part I of the "Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer," a private in Company A of the 22nd Iowa, appeared in the October, 1957, issue of the JOURNAL, pp. 319-50.

² The 13th Army Corps, with the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Iowa, and the 11th Wisconsin making up the Second Brigade of the First Division (Col. Charles L. Harris of the 11th Wisconsin commanding) was now under temporary command of Maj. Gen. Cadwallader C. Washburn, who had replaced Maj. Gen. John A. McClelland who had been removed by Grant in June, 1863. (Washburn would be replaced by Maj. Gen. E. O. C. Ord on September 15, 1863.) On August 13, 1863, the 13th Army Corps was detached from the Army of the Tennessee and sent south to join the Department of the Gulf under command of Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion . . .* (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 3:566-7 (hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*); *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part I, 2 (hereafter cited as *Official Records*); *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:546-7 (hereafter cited as *Grant, Memoirs*).

³ The transport *Baltic*. *Roster and Record*, 3:566-7.

attack. We were unmolested, however, in our trip down the river. The ride was one of the hottest and most uncomfortable that I ever experienced. The planking around the boat kept out all circulation of air and in that hot climate during the summer season the heat was almost stifling. But we lived through it and landed at Carrollton, north of New Orleans about six miles, and went into camp as a part of the 19th Army Corps.⁴ This camp was one of the pleasantest of my experience. We were greatly relieved to be able to obtain a change of diet, finding fish, lobsters, cabbage and many other things obtainable, for which we had been suffering a long time. Regular visits were made to the camp by old ladies with cooked provisions such as mashed potatoes, fried eggs, and various other articles of diet to which we had been since leaving home almost entire strangers. Of course this method of living soon depleted our pocket books, as we had to pay for everything not strictly regulation diet, but little we cared for that so long as our means held out. We also had opportunity to visit the City of New Orleans and enjoyed these visits immensely.

During our stay at New Orleans, we were on a grand review by General Banks and General Grant in a large field or plain between New Orleans and Carrollton. Our boys were ordered to prepare for a march after the grand review, not to return to camp but to go from the field upon a campaign. This the boys understood to be in light marching order and not in dress suits for grand review. Their preparation was such as they would have made under hasty marching orders for any campaign. The weather being very hot, many of them took off their blouses and went in their shirt sleeves; they were provisioned, carried their coffee pots, kettles and frying pans with them, and frequently a soldier had a piece of bacon strung on the tip of his bayonet. The appearance of Grant's boys did not strike General Banks as being strictly military and he remarked to General Grant during the review, "General, those are rough looking men of yours." Grant's reply was, "General Banks, they are the men who took Vicksburg." It happened, however, that we returned to camp from the reviewing ground and the campaign was delayed a short time.

In the meantime, I was taken violently sick and when marching orders

⁴ This is incorrect. The 22nd Iowa was in the 13th Army Corps until July of 1864, when it was assigned to the 19th Army Corps and sent east to join Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 2:262; *Roster and Record*, 3:569.

were received, I was unable to go with the Regiment. During this spell, being a severe acute attack of colic, I was again placed under lasting obligations to my brother James, who nursed me as a mother would and thought of just the right thing to do for my relief, himself being at the time sick. It was at this camp Carrollton that we finally separated not to meet again during our service, for shortly after I left he came up the river and was transferred into another organization, while I remained with the Regiment throughout. I remained in camp for some days after the Regiment had gone in the direction of Texas. In a few days I had an opportunity to follow the Regiment by railroad and found them encamped at or near Brashear City on Berwick Bay. I think it was only a day or two after I rejoined the Regiment that we started up the bayou Tesche. This campaign was rather uneventful. We marched and camped at various points in western Louisiana up this bayou to another called Vermillion bayou, to near Opelousas. We got upon the heels of the Confederates and Banks immediately turned around and retraced his steps, marching over the same ground and passing our old camp grounds in returning. Of course the boys were up to all sorts of tricks and a good deal of foraging was done contrary to orders through this very rich and productive country. I think the main product of this section at the time was sugar for we passed enormous sugar plantations, large sugar houses and refineries all along our road. We did not thank the commissary department for sugar, as we had all we wanted from the sugar houses and helped ourselves. Oranges abounded but they were usually of an inferior quality. Occasionally we found a tree with very sweet oranges and they were just ripening. But the greatest thing the soldiers found to eat in this country was sweet potatoes, we lived on them almost entirely for a long time. The country abounded in large fields of them and we had all we wanted for the digging. The great dish was sweet potatoes boiled, then sliced and fried in pork fat and bacon with flour gravy. The only butter we had for our sweet potatoes was purchased of the sutler in sealed cans. It was very strong, a little went a great ways — at least it was robust enough to make the entire campaign without a halt — and we did not use much of it.

An incident in this campaign might be of interest to people who stayed at home, although it was not so pleasant to the participants at the time. Of course the people through the country all claimed to be strictly loyal citizens and strict orders were issued against foraging, but it was impos-

sible to prevent the boys from scouring the country for chickens, turkeys or any other delicacies that might come in their way. Some of our Regiment were unfortunate enough to be caught with contraband goods in possession and General Lawler⁵ commanded that they be marched up and down the whole front of the Brigade all day from sun up to sun down, each carrying a log weighing fifty pounds or two carrying a log weighing one hundred pounds. At the time this occurred (two or three members of Company A being among this number) our Company was without a commanding officer and Lieutenant Henderson⁶ of Company H had been put in charge. The officers of the Companies whose men had been arrested positively refused to march the boys as they were ordered to do and handed in their swords to the Colonel. Our boys regretted very much that Lieutenant Henderson was placed in this predicament, being not one of our own officers, but he handed in his sword with the rest. The guard took the boys to the timber. They were to cut their own logs and then carry them all day. I think that none of them had more than twenty-five pounds weight to start on, although ordered to carry fifty, but they declared the timber was extremely heavy. About every time they made the round to the starting point they would throw down their logs declaring they were too heavy and split them in two. The march continued until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when one of the boys declared he would march no longer. The Corporal, J. B. Hughes, persuaded, begged and urged but he would not move; finally he called out Major White, now long since dead, then in command of our Regiment, who talked with the boys, urging them to go ahead and save him any trouble, as they knew that he would not willingly put that punishment on them of his own accord; that if they refused to carry out the orders of the general it would only make additional trouble for him. Major White was a favorite with all the boys and to save him trouble they picked up their logs and started cheerfully to complete the sentence. At that time, by frequent splitting and dividing of the burdens, the boys under punishment were not carrying more weight than the guard who had charge of them. Major White glanced at the logs as they marched off and remarked to the boys, "Why, boys, those logs

⁵ Brig. Gen. Michael K. Lawler, in command of the First Division of the 13th Army Corps. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part I, 334.

⁶ First Lieut. Daniel Webb Henderson of Shueyville, Iowa. *Roster and Record*, 3:614.

don't weigh fifty pounds apiece, do they?" They replied, "Oh yes, Major, that is awful heavy timber. You ought to just lift it once." The Major winked and turned away saying, "No, I'll take your word for it, I guess it's all right." And the incident was closed and the sentence completed by the boys throwing their logs into passing empty transportation wagons and having them hauled down the line to the lower end in their last round before sunset.

In our final march back to Berwick Bay or Brashear City (now Morgan City), we passed two of our former camp grounds every day. Our march was from twenty-five to twenty-seven miles every day, from sun up to sun down. Whether we were running from a mythical enemy, I know not. I only know that General Lawler had a very fast walking horse and that it was almost impossible for a soldier to follow him without "double quicking." However, I kept in ranks and went into camp one evening when there were not enough guns in ranks in Company A to make a stack, that is four. From Brashear City we returned by rail to Algiers, opposite New Orleans on the west bank of the river, and remained there in camp for some time. Here again we were fed by the peddlers of cooked provisions, which was a great relief to us after a long siege of army rations.

After some weeks in camp, our Regiment boarded the "T. A. Scott," a fine iron steamer but very narrow and one which rolled very badly on the sea, and left port for our first salt water voyage. We crossed the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi River about daylight and found the Gulf extremely rough and boisterous. Our destination was in the first place Brownsville at the mouth of the Rio Grande but before we reached that point, which was only a three days trip — however, the weather being very rough and stormy, we were out seven days — we had orders to land at Aransas Pass further up the coast. I saw the shipping at the mouth of the Rio Grande and the coast of Mexico while we were waiting orders, but we did not land there. The sea was so rough that we had to land in small boats, the large steamer not being able to get closer than half a mile to land. This was a new experience to land lubbers, disembarking from our large steamer into a small boat on a rough sea, with accoutrements, guns, &c., all to carry. We passed down a ladder at the side of the boat and waited until the roll of the vessel brought the small boat to the foot of the ladder; if we waited a moment too long, we would find the small boat gone from twenty to forty feet below us. We were transferred safely,

however, to a small coasting steamer and were landed on the island at Aransas Pass. After landing, the island continued to rock and roll in a manner similar to that of the boat on the water and I could not convince myself that the island was standing still until after I had had a night's sleep and had got off my sea legs.

After spending one night upon the island at Aransas Pass, we were detailed, that is, Companies A and F of our Regiment, to take the old coasting steamer Matamoras, loaded with supplies for the army, up the lagoons inside of the islands bordering the coast of Texas. We got along very well until the tide went out, when our boat grounded and we got out of water. Meantime, a few of the old "stagers" of the Company smelled whiskey on board and tapped a barrel in the hold. After waiting sometime for the tide to rise and the boat still sticking fast on the bottom, General [Fitz Henry] Warren, who was in command, ordered a detail from the Company to land on the island and search for water. This search was not for water to float the vessel on but for fresh water to drink and, possibly, to mix with the whiskey. They were gone a long time and no signs of the detail or of fresh water. Another detail was ordered for the same purpose and in addition to find the last party. I was one of the second detail. We landed on the island and commenced to dig for water as soon as we landed. We dug several wells but found the water salt and then gave up and commenced searching the island in other directions. In the meantime the whiskey, found by some of the thirsty on board, began to work too freely and the old General discovered the cause. He brought the barrel on deck, knocked in the head, and poured the contents into the bay, and then ordered Lieutenant S. C. Jones to take the company, land, and report to the Regiment. After landing and getting together the scattered fragments of the Company previously detailed and sent on shore, who had abandoned the search for water and turned their attention to hunting the wild game of which there was a great abundance on the island, we marched to the south-east side of the island, fronting the Gulf, where we discovered the line of march of the troops and plenty of fresh water left in shallow wells dug by them as they went along. The singular fact that fresh water could only be obtained on the island nearest to the Gulf was something that had to be learned by us.

We marched up the coast along the islands in the direction of Matagorda Bay, at the entrance of which the rebels had erected a very formidable

fort, the name of which I now fail to recollect.⁷ Our march lasted two or three days and was rather a hunting expedition than a march. The boys spread across the island and drove along the game as they proceeded. The second night out we camped in an old building on one of the islands and had for our suppers venison, wild goose, fresh pork, fresh beef and mutton, I believe. Two or three days march brought us to the eastern end of Matagorda Island, the entrance to Matagorda Bay, where we found that the fort had capitulated and our Regiment had crossed the Bay to a point on the opposite side, designated as Decrows Point. We followed in a small schooner [*sic*], a two-masted sailing vessel, and joined the Regiment once more and went into camp with the balance of the troops of the command.

Our camp here continued for some weeks and extended over Christmas of 1863. The weather was very stormy and cold and the entrance to the Bay was not sufficiently deep to permit large vessels to enter during severe storms, and we were out of supplies practically, except as to a lot of condemned hard tack which the government shipped to that point for our use in an emergency.

However, our mess usually got their share of what was to be had and we had a Christmas dinner of fried ham and light biscuit, baked by one of our mess. The ham was not issued to us in the regular way and history does not record where we received it.

On this point, we buried one of our Company, Frank W. Butler, who died while we were in camp here. I was one of the detail that buried him with the honors of war, and a more mournful funeral I never attended. He was buried in cold stormy weather on a bleak, barren, sandy point, uninhabited, and where his grave would soon be completely drifted over with sand and entirely obliterated.

About New Year, we moved our camp across the Bay to the main land at a small town called Powder Horn, and went into quarters in an old hospital building, set upon stumps about two feet from the ground—I presume to keep it from being flooded by very high tides. On the main land there was no timber in sight, the largest growth consisted of brush and small trees ten or twelve feet high. The absence of timber makes the country look very desolate and barren. While here in camp, we suffered the severest “northwester” of our Texas experience. The wind blew from

⁷ Fort Esperanza. The army reached this fort on December 1, 1863. *Ibid.*, 3:567.

the north or northwest for about a week, ice froze to the thickness of half an inch, and the soldiers suffered intensely from the keen piercing winds, as they seemed to be much more penetrating and cutting in this climate than they are in the north.

Our provisions got so low during this time that we were compelled to search the towns around for supplies. About three miles up the coast was the town of Indianola, but the whole population of both towns were unable to feed the soldiers there even a few days. In the town of Powder Horn, there was an old fashioned wind mill, driven with sails, which was started to grind corn for us but the corn crop gave out and the mill was useless. Out on the Gulf, in plain sight, was a steamer with provisions for us, floating in plain view, waiting for the winds to subside so that they might enter the Bay and unload what we were so much in need of. I think it was about eight days that we were in this plight before the storm sufficiently subsided to permit the steamer to land.

I made on the day of the landing of the steamer, a trip to Indianola in company with one of our boys, and we went the rounds of the town in search of a dinner and some provisions to carry back. We managed to get a dinner, after a long search, of corn bread principally, and obtained one corn pone to carry back. When we arrived in camp, we found that the steamer had landed and the soldiers had received plenty of supplies and our corn pone was at a discount. For, however much we may enjoy northern corn bread at home, there is something about the southern article that makes it very undesirable to me.

We moved our winter quarters to Indianola early in the year and spent perhaps two months in camp at that place. After the storm was over, in February, the weather got beautiful, warm and pleasant. It was like spring weather in Iowa; the grass commenced to grow; the cattle, which ranged the country all winter, began to get fat and eatable. But it is perhaps worth while to record that the fresh beef we obtained in this country in January was the poorest in quality that I ever met. The flesh was entirely without fat, red, dry and tasteless and, at home, we should say entirely unfit to eat.

During our stay at Indianola, the commanding General sent out scouting expeditions to the north to investigate the strength of the enemy in our vicinity. On two occasions, on the 22nd of January and also on the 22nd of February, our scouts were pursued by the rebels and several of our men

were captured and taken prisoners. The danger of an attack seemed so great to the commanding General that for many days our Regiment was called into line at three o'clock in the morning and required to stand in battle line until daylight, to be prepared in case of an invasion by the enemy. But no attack was made. Our picket posts were made especially strong and imposing and were stationed at vulnerable points and long distances from the camp, out on the broad level prairie country, and on one occasion I had an experience which for a short time was rather exciting to me. I had been on duty in the early watch of the night and, going to camp at the outpost reserve to sleep my four hours, I took my cartridge box off contrary to orders and put it under my head for a pillow. When called to take my second watch about one or two o'clock in the morning, I left the cartridge box in camp and went on duty. I had not been on my station more than half an hour until I heard a suspicious rustling in the bushes and felt for my cap box to cap my gun preparatory to halting an enemy. For about a minute my hair stood on end because I discovered my cap box missing, and then I realized that my cartridge box and cap box were in camp with my blanket. My gun was loaded but of course I could not fire it without a cap. However, I was bound to do my best and attempt to fire in case of necessity. I crouched on my beat and crept in the direction of the noise to discover what the enemy might consist of. The noise appeared to be similar to that of a creeping person, trying to cross a forbidden line without giving the proper countersign, and I was determined to stop the invasion if possible. I approached the noise as carefully as I could, and by crouching upon the ground brought objects in that direction between me and the sky so that I could determine the character and number of the invaders. After approaching within a few yards I made the very pleasant discovery that my invader was nothing but a cow browsing around in the brush, taking a very early morning meal. You may be sure I never reported the incident in camp because I did not intend they should learn that I had left my ammunition in camp.

Early in the spring, we moved our camp to Matagorda Island, a short distance to the rear of the fort mentioned heretofore, and fortified the island from the inside coast to the Gulf with rifle pits and two forts. These works were built of sand and were only kept in place by being sodded after they were built, as the sand was very fine and drifted like snow. I saw a fenced lot on the island where the sand had drifted nearly to the top rail on one

side, just as snow would drift in great wind. Our fortifications were never completed and before we left this camp most of the works had blown away and the sand drifted back nearly to a level again. But wherever the forts were sodded and finished they retained their shape and looked very formidable indeed.

During the time that we were encamped on Matagorda Island, General Warren made an expedition up Matagorda Bay to Port Lavaca. I do not know what was the object of his expedition but heard that it was to obtain lumber for the purpose of either building quarters or improving the fortifications. There were two steamers in the expedition. We landed and our Company was detailed as outpost pickets and the rest of the troops were put to work loading the steamers with lumber obtained from the buildings and yards of the town. I might remark here that at Port Lavaca we saw the first timber we had seen since landing on the coast.

During the day our boys, as usual, got outside of the lines, skirmishing for information and possibly something more material and palatable, and were attacked by the rebels who were watching our proceedings. One of our Company, John A. Burke, got so closely pressed that he fired at the enemy and brought down a rebel, and we learned that he died during the day. Toward evening we were called in and ordered on board the boats, preparatory to returning to Matagorda Island, but just as the boats were about to leave a fire broke out in the town, which was built of wood entirely, there being no brick or stone buildings. In the hot dry weather the fire burned and spread like wild fire, and the old General ordered the troops all off the boats to put it out. The town was nearly all in ashes before the flames could be subdued but the soldiers worked heroically nevertheless to quench the flames. The General swore vengeance on the man who started the fire if he could be found, provided of course it was one of the command. I think, however, he never made any strenuous effort to find his man.

I do not know at what time we left Matagorda Island. Our camp was abandoned, our fortifications deserted, and we took steamer back to New Orleans and went into camp in the City in an old cotton press where we nearly suffocated for want of air, as it was very hot weather. We were not long, however, in camp in the cotton press.

General Banks had an expedition up the Red River⁸ and our return from

⁸ Banks' "ill-fated" expedition up the Red River had been opposed by Grant but was undertaken at the order of General H. M. Halleck. Grant, *Memoirs*, 2:139. For

Texas was for the purpose of joining in this campaign. The left wing of our Regiment, in which our Company found ourselves, was ordered on board a boat with other troops, being General Warren's headquarters boat, and with two other boats started up the river to join the army then at Alexandria on the Red River. Our trip up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Red River was a very enjoyable one, as we were in open boats and had plenty of cool breeze while the boats were running. We had nearly reached the mouth of Old River, which is really the outlet of the Red River into the Mississippi, when we met coming down a transport loaded to the guards with troops, I should say there were fifteen hundred to two thousand on board. General Warren was hailed by the Captain of the vessel and told that he could not get up Red River with his boats because the rebels had placed batteries in below the army, and his was the only remaining boat of three which went up loaded with recruits, the other two being sunk by the rebels, and he had on board his boat all the survivors of the expedition. General Warren was a man of nervous disposition and easily, I think, put out. He said he was ordered up the river and he would go up, rebel batteries or not. We had the paymaster on board of our boat and, to save the funds if not the soldiers, he landed on the east bank of the Mississippi and put off the paymaster and his escort and we proceeded up the Red River.

When we left New Orleans, Company F of our wing, being the ranking Company, took the lead on going on board the boat and rushed up on to the hurricane deck where they could get the cool breezes going up the river. We filed in among the cotton bales around the boiler on the lower deck and thought ourselves very unfortunate to be compelled to take this unfavorable location on the boat. General Warren was particularly severe on our Company for having a number of boys that were always playing tricks and were not above passing off a few jokes and tricks on the General himself. He seemed much pleased at our discomfiture. In fact he ordered the left wing of the Regiment to avoid getting our Company on his boat, supposing that we held the position on the right, to which we were entitled. When we left the Mississippi and started up the Red River, an order was issued that Company A should go on to the hurricane deck and Company F be transferred to the hold of the vessel. We suspected this order came

complete reports on the expedition, which accomplished nothing, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV. For Gen. Banks, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1:577-80.

from the General because on the narrow Red River, lined as it is on both sides with timber, the danger of being killed on the hurricane deck was much greater than if we had been esconced [*sic*] behind cotton bales on the lower deck, the hurricane deck being a very conspicuous mark for the sharp shooters and bushwackers along the banks of the river.

However, through the whole trip up and back we did not receive a shot from the enemy, and the splendid breezes we enjoyed in our elevated position was [*sic*] a great compensation for the danger we were in, as Company F down in the hold around the boilers were nearly roasted and smothered for the want of fresh air. The breezes along the Red River, on account of the timber on both banks almost the entire distance we travelled, are very much more rare than on the Mississippi.

We steamed up the river to a point above Fort DeRussey [De Russy], until we reached the iron clad gun boats stationed there. The Commodore informed General Warren that he could not take his vessel up to the army on account of Confederate batteries and we stopped and landed, and the General got upon one of the gun boats and made a reconnoissance up the river to see what the prospects were of getting up, but seeing no prospects of getting through safely we rested in the timber on the banks and waited developments.

During this time we had a most lively turn out one night on account of an alarm raised by a scout from the Union army above coming into our lines through the pickets. It was supposed to be a rebel raid on our position for the purpose of cutting us off from retreat, or capturing the detachment together with our boats. The excitement was extremely lively for a time and it looked as though we had actually been attacked by the enemy. I happened at that time to be on picket duty at the lower end of the picket line on the river, some distance from where the scout came in, and while I heard the excitement I stuck to my post and determined to hold my end, let what might come. By so doing I escaped the great excitement of being called into line by the long roll in the middle of the night to repel a supposed enemy.

It became apparent, however, that the rebels were making strenuous efforts to erect batteries below our position on the river, in which case our boats would have been sunk and many of us drowned or captured in endeavoring to retreat down the stream. So General Warren, seeing that we were accomplishing nothing in our present position, ordered us on board and took

his steamers down the river again to the starting point on the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the river. We made the trip up and down, as I stated before, without receiving a shot from the enemy and, so far as Company A was concerned, we were entirely satisfied with our position on the hurricane deck and boasted a good deal over the cooked condition of Company F, who were safely hidden away behind cotton bales below. And for a long time thereafter, whenever we met one of Company F, our boys would raise the cry, "Company A on the hurricane deck, Company F in the hole."

We rested but a very short time on the cool breezy banks of the Mississippi, under beautiful large shade trees, until we got orders to join the army on the Atchafalaya at Simsport, where the army would cross that river. The Atchafalaya is an outlet of the Mississippi which empties into Berwick Bay and heads in what is called (or was then called) Old River, an apparently old bed of the Mississippi into which the Red River empties and out of which the Atchafalaya starts. The head of this river had been kept snagged up with piles to keep it from turning the entire Mississippi to the Gulf in that direction and cutting off New Orleans from the main stream.

Our boats arrived at the point named about the time the head of the column of the army, retreating from up the river, reached there. The Atchafalaya is a narrow river, perhaps some wider than the average width of the Red River. Banks had collected here all the steamers at his command then anchored them in the river, side by side with the bows of the boats opposite to each other, forming the most beautiful pontoon bridge that I have ever had the pleasure of seeing. The river was completely filled with steamboats. I think there were between thirty and forty boats in the bridge, side by side, and across the bows from one bank to the other was laid staging, upon which the troops, artillery, and wagon trains crossed in a constant stream for two days. During this time I was on guard duty at headquarters of General Warren's boat about the middle of the bridge. It was known that the rebels were closely on the heels of the army and we expected they would reach the river in time to attack the rear guard and perhaps attempt to capture some of our boats or troops straggling in the rear. When the rear of the army approached, the staging was ripped loose between the boats; men were stationed at each side of each of the boats, ready to throw the staging around upon the deck; the boats were all

steamed up and ready to move. As soon as the rear guard crossed, the staging was hastily thrown around upon the boats, their little engines for winding up the anchor chains or ropes were started, and the whole bridge began to move almost simultaneously. And in five minutes, the whole bridge was moving up stream in line as rapidly as they could without collision or interference with each other, and the beautiful pontoon bridge was no more.

Our detachment, being on the east bank of the river, was destined for the rear guard and, after the entire army had moved on and the bridge had been safely launched and out of danger from the Confederate army, we followed the army in the direction of Morganza Bend, our next place of encampment, on the Mississippi River. The Confederate army did not pursue any further than Simsport and made no attempt at that time at least to cross the Atchafalaya River, and we had no skirmishing or fighting to do in that campaign.

We camped for some considerable time at Morganza Bend — just how long I am not able to tell. Our services there were very inconsiderable in importance and not worthy of an extended record.

From Morganza Bend we were transferred to Baton Rouge and were encamped there for some time as post troops. During our stay in Baton Rouge, our Regiment was sent out east one day to protect negro workers on a cotton plantation. Some northern men, or Union men at any rate, were endeavoring to raise cotton with negro labor, and the rebels would come up into the timber, bordering on the plantation, and fire at the negroes, and the Union troops were used for their protection. At another time our Company was sent out and camped on the road in the edge of the timber where the trouble was expected to come from, and stayed one or two days as guard but we met with no rebels or bushwackers and were supplied with the finest kind of provisions by the men managing the plantations.

We were at Baton Rouge on the 4th of July, 1864, as I distinctly remember by my efforts to obtain a 4th of July dinner, which I got at the market place and which I thought at the time was very fine. It consisted of bread and butter, coffee, and codfish balls, in the main — the side dishes were so unimportant that I do not now recollect what they were, but I thought I had a magnificent dinner. This meal cost me one dollar.

It soon became evident that the backbone of the Confederacy on the Mississippi had been seriously injured, and we were destined to move into

more active war districts. We took boat and went down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and were there transferred to an ocean steamer for the east.

We sailed by way of Key West and around Hatteras to Fortress Monroe. Our ocean trip was rather uneventful and we met with but little rough weather except around Cape Hatteras, where it became considerably stormy and rough. Our boat was old and said to be unseaworthy and overloaded with troops, but no accident happened to us. We stopped at Fortress Monroe and then proceeded up the James River on our boat to Bermuda Hundred, the point where the James and Appomattox rivers join, and landed in the rear of Butler's army, then fighting in front of Richmond. We were marched up to the front and I had the honor of being on picket duty in front of the great stronghold on Butler's line, the right wing of Grant's army. But we remained here only about forty-eight hours when we were ordered into line and retraced our steps to Bermuda Hundred where we took boat, and, steaming down the James and up the Potomac, we landed at Washington.

Here we were looked upon as a great curiosity, as I believe that the three Regiments, the 22nd, 24th and 28th Iowa, were the first Iowa troops that visited the Capital at Washington.⁹ People turned out in crowds to see what Iowa men looked like and were very much astonished when they discovered that we looked something like other people.

We encamped one night at the Soldiers Rest in Washington, and then marched out through Georgetown to a point near Tennallytown, where we went into camp as a protection to the Capital during General Early's¹⁰ threatened raids.

⁹ Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan had three corps under him in the Shenandoah campaign: the 6th Army Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. Horatio G. Wright; the 19th Army Corps, commanded by Bvt. Maj. Gen. William H. Emory; and the Army of West Virginia, commanded by Bvt. Maj. Gen. George Crook. The 22nd Iowa was in the Second Brigade of the Second Division of the 19th Army Corps, commanded by Col. Edward L. Molineux. The 24th and 28th Iowa were in the Fourth Brigade of the Second Division. These were the only three Iowa regiments to fight in Virginia. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIII, Part I, 109.

¹⁰ The Confederate General Jubal A. Early had come down the Shenandoah Valley and forced the Union commander there, Maj. Gen. David Hunter, to retreat. Crossing the Potomac near Harper's Ferry in July, Early had threatened Washington, frightening the citizens and some of the government. *Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1888), 1:458-9. Hereafter cited as *Sheridan, Memoirs*.

I might here mention that a short time prior to this, Washington was in great danger of capture for a few hours by the Confederate troops. They were actually within sight of the outposts of Washington and could have taken the City with but little effort at that time, but twenty-four hours delay permitted General Wallace to re-enforce himself so that the City was made comparatively safe.

We remained in camp about two weeks at Tennallytown, when we were ordered to join the army of the Shenandoah Valley by easy marches by way of Leeburg and Snickers Gap. We started about four o'clock in the morning across the Potomac on the chain bridge and took up our march to the Shenandoah.

On the first day, we had a foot race with an eastern regiment. We had been brigaded with the 131st New York and the 159th New York Regiments. These troops were taken to the southwest, their travelling was mostly done by boat or rail, and they had not done enough marching to harden them sufficiently to stand a severe test. It seemed, however, that they were anxious to try our mettle on foot, and before daylight we felt by the pull ahead that they meant to have a race with the "western boys." We were ready for the contest and every man seemed to take new courage for the fray. It proved to be an extremely hot day and before we went into camp at or before noon, the New York boys were lying out in squads and companies along the road and did not come into camp with a full company to the regiment, while we went in in solid column without a dozen stragglers except our sick. It was reported that sixteen of the New Yorkers had been sunstruck during the day. This was the first and last foot race we had with the eastern soldiers, they were satisfied that the "clodhoppers of the prairies" were an equal match for them in walking.

We made the march by easy stages, starting about four o'clock in the morning and camping from eleven to twelve in the morning, spending the rest of the day in camp, until we arrived at the foot of the mountain at Snickers Gap. We had camped about the usual time here, many of the boys had washed their clothes and hung them out to dry, preparing to stay over night, when we got orders to march in half an hour, and we started on time, to pass through Snickers Gap and over the Shenandoah to join the army on the other side.¹¹

¹¹ General Sheridan, who had replaced Hunter in command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah early in August, was maneuvering his troops into position for a battle

From our camp it appeared as though the top of the mountain was about a mile distant and we thought we would reach the summit in daylight in plenty of time to get a view on the other side into the Shenandoah Valley. We marched until night and then far into the night before we reached the summit. We were very much deceived in the distance we had to travel. I suppose it was ten o'clock at night when the head of the column reached the summit of the Gap. As the column came to the top, the troops, seeing camp fires apparently about a mile distant, commenced to cheer, supposing it only a short distance to camp. And as the long line continued to march up and over the summit, the cheers and yells rolled back the line so that a person in the mountain listening would suppose that there was an army of a great many thousand troops passing through the Gap.

Soon after we began to descend, the camp fires disappeared and we marched mile after mile. Reaching the [Shenandoah] river after a time, we were given permission either to wade through with or without our clothes on. Most of us pulled off our shoes and stockings and waded through, stopping on the opposite bank to put them on again. It was one o'clock in the morning when we went into camp.

I never learned whether the cheering from the summit was done by order of the Commander of the Brigade or because the troops saw the camp fires apparently a very short distance ahead. I thought at the time it was from the latter cause but our hurried march, it was afterwards ascertained, was made from the supposition that the rebels were marching up or down the river attempting to cut us off from joining the army of the Shenandoah. It is true that when our rear guard crossed the river, the rebel cavalry rode up on the rear bank but did not molest them, and it is possible that they were deferred from making an attack or attempting to cut us off on account of the cheering on the mountain, which gave them the idea that there was a very large army crossing to the support of Hunter.

Our camp that morning was at Berryville but was a very brief stay for at four o'clock we were called into line and took up the march down the Shenandoah, joining in our first retreat before the enemy. We were now thoroughly experienced in war, having joined in a famous retreat of the

with Early. The Second Division of the 19th Army Corps, commanded by Brig. Gen. Cuvier Grover, was ordered to join Sheridan on August 12. Grover reached Sheridan on August 18. *Ibid.*, 1:490; S. C. Jones, *Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa* . . . (Iowa City, 1907), 78; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIII, Part I, 778.

Union Army down the Shenandoah towards Harper's Ferry. One of our great generals previous to this had obtained his reputation in generalship for making a "masterly retreat" over this historic ground, and we were certainly to be congratulated on the honor of joining in a similar movement, after having made a forced march across the mountains that we might not fail to participate.¹²

The army fell back to Boliver Heights a few miles on the Charlestown road out of Harper's Ferry. These heights consist of bluffs along the Shenandoah River, facing open and comparatively level ground in the direction of Charlestown, and form very strong natural fortifications. We were encamped at this place a very few days, the time I cannot now recollect, but while we were here, partially fortified and awaiting an attack from Early's troops, General Grant made his appearance upon the field and put the army, which up to this time had been commanded by General Hunter, under the command of General Sheridan with instructions to press the enemy and clear out the valley of Confederate forces.¹³ This great valley had long been the store house and granary supplying Lee's army with provisions, which the sympathetic citizens raised in abundance. The intention was to cut off the source of supplies from the Confederate army, to drive the troops under Early's command out of the country and relieve Maryland and Pennsylvania from the threatened invasions from the Confederates, which were annoying the commander of the army and causing great consternation among the loyal citizens across the Potomac.

Sheridan immediately prepared to move his army up the valley with the intention of taking no backward step and permitting no more "masterly retreats." How well he carried out his instructions, I need not here state as history has informed the world.

After thoroughly inspecting and equipping the army for active field serv-

¹² According to Sheridan, this was not a retreat, but rather a jockeying for position, since the Confederate army, reinforced by some of Lee's troops, outnumbered the Union army. At this time Grant was investing Petersburg, south of Richmond; Sherman, far to the south, was laying siege to Atlanta; the Shenandoah Valley must be cleared of Confederates, and its rich store of foodstuffs appropriated or destroyed to prevent their going to the Confederate army; the presidential election of 1864 was a few months away. Sheridan could not afford a defeat, either militarily or politically. Sheridan, *Memoirs*, 1:Chap. 24.

¹³ Switzer is mistaken here. Grant had turned over the command of the troops in the Shenandoah on August 6, 1864. However, he did visit Sheridan at Charlestown on September 17 to discuss with him his plans for action. Evidently this is the visit Switzer reports. *Ibid.*, 1:464; 2:9; Grant, *Memoirs*, 2:320-21, 327.

ice, the troops moved out on the Charlestown road late one evening, in pursuit of the Confederate army. Our Regiment passed through Charlestown, the historic place where John Brown was hung, at about one o'clock in the morning. The town was as dark and gloomy as if there was not a living human being within its precincts. Not a light could be seen. As the head of the column reached the outskirts of the city, the band at the head struck up "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave"; the troops took up the song and it rolled back along the line, as the column moved forward, through the dark streets until it seemed as though the whole army to a man was joining in the grand chorus. I think I never before nor since heard that popular song sung with as much enthusiasm or spirit as then. It seemed to be a prophetic warning to the citizens that no more would their streets resound to the tread of Confederate troops or be pressed by the foot of the slave, for whose freedom John Brown had made the great sacrifice of his life.

We were now in proximity to the Confederate army and every encampment was fortified as we advanced up the valley. Sometimes our stay would be a few days, or a week or two, and then another advance would be made, perhaps only a day's march, and again fortify.

Our camp had been for about two weeks at Berryville, having retraced our steps to the point where we had joined the army after crossing the river. We were fortified and prepared for an attack but General Early was too wary and preferred that we should attack him within his fortifications, rather than attack us within ours. One night some of our wagon trains ran into an ambuscade of Confederates and were fired upon. We were called out hastily into line of battle, expecting at any moment that the rebels would attack us. We lay all night in a drizzling rain in line of battle on our arms, awaiting the enemy but he did not come. A day or two after this we were ordered to break camp at about three o'clock in the morning, and marched in the direction of Winchester.

We were now sure that, as Early would not attack us, Sheridan had made up his mind to push him, and take the consequences of a battle with the enemy in his own position. Our cavalry, early in the morning, had developed a heavy line of battle at Opequan [Opequon] Creek, about two or three miles from Winchester. We were hurried forward, the road passing through a deep narrow defile in the mountains along the Opequan, a small shallow stream, which we crossed several times, it being necessary to

do so as the creek meandered from one steep bluff to the other and left scarcely room on one side or the other for a wagon road.

Across the mouth of this ravine and about three-quarters of a mile beyond it, General Early had formed his line of battle, massing his troops heavily in front of the ravine evidently with the intention of letting part of the army pass through, then attack and cut off the troops from retreat, and thus capture a large number of prisoners while the other troops were blocked in the ravine unable to take part in the battle.

I have never heard or known of General Early's plans or a suggestion of them for this battle but, after seeing the situation of the ground and the advantages that were obtained in taking the position he did, I imagine that any general would have had the same view that I have expressed. But if this was his intention, he was not sufficiently posted as to the character of Sheridan's movements or methods of battle. He may have imagined that he was still skirmishing with Hunter or some other very cautious general, who would stop and reconnoiter his ground before moving, giving Early plenty of time to carry out his own plans. It proved, however, that he was too slow for "Little Phil." Instead of making his attack when part of the army had taken position in his front, he waited till Sheridan had matured his plans for making the attack himself, and Sheridan opened the battle with the Confederate army in his selected position.¹⁴

Our Brigade, consisting of the 22nd Iowa, 28th Iowa, and 131st and 159th New York Regiments,¹⁵ formed the left wing of the 19th Army Corps, and our Regiment was on the left of the Brigade, there being no troops to our left in the opening charge.

The position of the troops in the battle proper was as follows: The 8th Corps¹⁶ formed the right wing, the 19th Corps the center, and the 6th Corps the left wing.

In getting to our position on the field, a funny incident occurred, showing how two columns of troops meeting at a cross road might pass each other, both columns continuing to march practically all the time. We first,

¹⁴ For Sheridan's description of the battle, see Sheridan, *Memoirs*, 2:Chap. 1.

¹⁵ The 22nd Iowa was part of the Second Brigade, which included the 13th Connecticut, the 11th Indiana, the 3rd Massachusetts cavalry (discounted), and the 131st and 159th New York. The 28th Iowa, together with the 24th Iowa and the 8th and 18th Indiana, made up the Fourth Brigade. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLII, Part I, 109; Sheridan, *Memoirs*, 2:16n

¹⁶ Also known as the Army of West Virginia.

after emerging from the ravine, filed to the right, evidently by mistake, and then our column was turned to the left, marching diagonally across the field in the direction of our position. As we reached the brow of a little hill, separated from another small hill by a narrow ravine, we saw a column of troops marching down the ravine at right angles to our line of march. Naturally the head of our column stopped to let the troops pass, but, gaining strength from the closing up of the column in the rear, we made a rush down the hill, cut the other column in two, marched through, and stopped their progress. The rush down the hill thinned the column as we strung out, and the other troops, gaining strength by closing up and halting, made a rush and cut our line in two, and so the two columns kept alternately cutting through and being cut through until both had passed the point where they met, and both kept on a continued march.

This column, passing to our left, was part of the 6th Corps and were destined to form on our left in the line of battle, but as will be seen later they were not in position when the contest came, at least not where they were most needed, and I believe their absence accounts for the temporary disaster of the battle.

After marching and countermarching, our Regiment finally took position on the field of battle and, as luck would have it, we lined up in front of a row of camp fires that had been built on the field that morning by the Confederates, who held the position earlier. We immediately dipped up water in our coffee cans and put over the fire to boil, reserving the coffee until the water was boiling for fear we would be ordered to advance and thus lose the coffee. After the water was boiling, we dropped in our coffee and let it boil a very short time and took our breakfast standing in line of battle, scalding our mouths with the boiling drink, fearing we might lose the opportunity to get any meal by delay. This meal, which I call breakfast, was however after eleven o'clock, perhaps nearly noon. We were none too soon with it for many had scarcely commenced drinking their coffee before the order came to forward. I carried my tin cup full of boiling coffee along and drank and ate crackers as far as I could. I burned the skin off my mouth and then, when the order came, "Double-quick," threw away the coffee and gave up any further hope of finishing.

We started from the first position on a quick march but had not proceeded more than a few rods when we were ordered to "double quick" with fixed bayonets, and then, while no further orders were given, our

double quick hastened into a run. We had not covered half the distance across the field when the Confederates from their hidden position opened fire upon us with all the engines of war they could concentrate upon our lines. Their cannons were booming, shot, shell and shrapnel screaming through the air. The rattle of musketry was terrific. It seemed to me as though everything that ever was created that could make a noise was flying over our heads. It seemed impossible to me that any body of men could pass through this fire and escape being killed or wounded. The only way I can account for the fact that any escaped was that they shot over our heads.

We charged from a half to three-quarters of a mile across an open field of high rolling ground and reached a small ravine or ditch running parallel to our line where we halted. I was completely "winded." We had a good position and I thought would be able to hold it but I had no sooner got two or three breaths when I heard an order to retreat. I thought it could not be possible that we were ordered out of this position to go through a worse fire than that through which we came. I looked to the front and thought it impossible for me, without a rest, to attempt to get to the rear. When I turned around again our column was on the full retreat, perhaps twenty yards from me, and I saw that we had been flanked out of position, there were no troops on our left to sustain us, the rebels were swarming around our left flank and many of them were far in our rear, endeavoring to sweep upon us and take us prisoners.

I felt it necessary that I should try to get back if possible so I made a dash for liberty, but I was so nearly exhausted in the charge that it was impossible for me to do much running. Before I was aware of it, I was surrounded by the rebels and ordered by them to march in the opposite direction, toward the rear of the rebel army. Being entirely alone, I submitted as gracefully as I could and started out of that dangerous locality, which was being swept by shot and shell from both armies. Our own army having re-formed was pouring hot shot into the rebel position. Our battery, that had supported us, was sending shot and shell over our heads into the rebel ranks. And their batteries, hidden in the timber behind, were replying equally disastrously to both friend and foe struggling in the center of the field for the mastery.

Myself and a corporal of Company E were taken in charge by a burly rebel and marched to the rear as hastily as possible, for he was as anxious

to get out of danger as were we. We were passing across a little open strip of ground in the track of our own battery when a shell, which was aimed at the Confederate battery to our right, exploded within a few feet of us and wounded all three of the party. The corporal, whose name I am not now able to give, was killed by the shot. The rebel was wounded, I think, in the hip and lay a few feet from me, but had no sooner been struck than he commenced to yell for help and ask to be carried off the field. His cries and groans and pleadings were very distressing and he kept them up continuously until a hospital squad of Confederates carried him off and I heard no more of his cries.

I was wounded about the middle of the right leg, the bone being shattered by a rough fragment of shell that passed entirely through it, and could not walk or get off the field. The rebels were passing and re-passing with supplies and orders and several of them gave me a call; as they had no use for me, they let me lay on the field but took everything I had except my blanket. I had an old silver escapement watch at the time and I carelessly let the chain hang out in sight. One rebel took that but as it would not run at all I did not begrudge him the prize. One fellow asked if I had a portfolio in my knapsack. Portfolios were for our writing materials, paper, envelopes, etc. I had just recently replenished mine and told him I had a good one. He took my knapsack to help himself and did to nearly all of its contents, if not quite. Another fellow wanted my blanket. I had no sooner been wounded than I felt chilly, although the day was a very hot one. I told him that I was cold and was unable to get another. He said there were plenty of them scattered over the field that I could get. I had to convince him that it was impossible for me to walk before he would permit me to keep it.

Before I was wounded, while on the field of battle, I passed a poor fellow, wounded, calling for water. I stopped to give him a drink from my canteen but, being in haste and it taking him a long time to slake his thirst, I turned away saying, "Keep it, you need it worse than I do." In two minutes, I was suffering for a drink myself and had no canteen or water.

While I was lying in as comfortable a position as possible with my head upon my haversack, the battery that fired the shell which wounded me sent over a solid shot. Of course I did not know whether it was a shot or shell. It struck in the ground not more than three feet to the right of where I lay, nearly covering me with dirt. Had it been a shell and ex-

ploded, it would have blown me to atoms. I need not say that I realized that it might be, and I drew away as far as possible awaiting the result but it did not explode. However, I thought that if I expected to live I had better hunt a safer position. Minie balls were zipping in the earth around me in all directions and I thought it urgent for me to change location.

I was in a narrow open space between two patches of timber. It was an exposed place and troops crossing from one side to the other were directly in view of our own line and were drawing a constant fire, whereas in the woods on either side they were hid from view. I took my blanket and gave it a pitch in the direction of a big tree about thirty yards to my left; I then threw my haversack, and crawled up to them again; then I started my possessions in the same way a short distance further. And so by crawling up to them and pitching them ahead of me I reached the edge of the timber and got behind a large oak tree where I felt comparatively safe, although shot and shell were screaming through the tree tops and cutting off limbs and branches in all directions.

The Confederate success was but temporary and their pursuit of our retreating column was very short-lived. Our men made a stand about, as nearly as I can learn, at the position from which we started on the charge that morning, or perhaps not so far to the rear, and the Confederates, thinking "discretion the better part of valor," concluded they had enough Yankees and fell back to a safer position, forming a line of battle at the edge of the strip of timber in which I lay and about thirty yards in front of me. I could then see what a very heavy line of Confederates we had to contend with in the charge. They must have been three columns deep when we advanced upon them, for the battle line formed in the timber was very formidable. However, there was but very little fighting in that part of the field during the remainder of the battle.

Sheridan had sent us to the charge that morning to develop Early's position. He no sooner saw the heavy massed forces in the center than he sent his cavalry onto the flanks of the rebels and turned them back, doubling each wing backward until their rear was threatened and the whole army commenced its famous retreat through Winchester.

At the time the column in front of me fell back, there was no fighting or firing in their immediate front. It seemed that the force of the pressure on their right pressed them back and they were compelled to leave the ground.

During their occupancy of the position, their orderlies and ammunition carriers were constantly passing and re-passing me. I was suffering extremely for water. I stopped one "reb" who had a canteen and asked him for a drink. He was kind enough to attempt to give me a drink but could not as he said, get the cork out of his canteen having lost the ring, and I failed to get a drink because, as he said, his orders were to hurry and he did not dare to delay longer.

As a matter of course from the time I was wounded until the Confederates retreated, I realized the fact that I was no better than a dead "Yank" if I remained in the Confederate hands or if they won the battle and held the field. I knew that I was severely wounded and stood scarcely a chance to recover even with the best medical care and attendance but that I would stand any show in Confederate hands I had no hope. So it will be evident to the reader that, if I had a desire for the success of our arms in the morning when we entered the battle, I had ten times more of a desire now to see the Union cause triumph on this occasion.

I could not, from my position, gain any idea of the progress of the battle. I saw before me a very strong determined column of Confederate troops holding their ground, unopposed by Union soldiers. It looked to me as though their position could be held against almost any odds and I was fearful that the battle was lost to us and that, while I was still confident of the final triumph of the cause, the battle of Winchester or Opequan Creek had been lost.

I do not know how long I lay behind the big tree watching the Confederates re-organizing, passing fresh ammunition and generally making their position stronger and better. All at once, after a short time of almost complete silence in that part of the field, with but little conversation among the rebels, the column began to move from their right backward toward the left in good order but evidently on a retreat. I might have supposed that they were about to take a new position on the field had it not been that when the column in front of me began to move, the officers endeavored to rally the men and, while themselves in the rear, they waved their swords and shouted, "Rally, men, rally!" But there was no rally. Some fellow remarked, "Rally be damned! Every man for himself now." And I knew that the rebel retreat had begun, although they moved back in good order and with but little confusion. My only hope was now that they should pass me without giving me the least attention. I was very anxious just at

that time to endorse the historic desire of the arch rebel Jeff Davis, to be "let alone." I pulled my gray blanket up over my blue blouse closely around my ears and lay very still so that they might think I was dead. The column passed me without a remark of any kind so far as I was concerned and passed out of sight through the woods over a little rise of ground.

After I saw them disappear and felt fully satisfied that I was entirely alone and that there were no rebels between me and the Union Army, I for the first time felt glad that I was wounded. I did not know how seriously, I knew I was wounded badly. I did not know what my chances were for recovering but I had always felt — and what I have learned since has confirmed me in that belief — that if I had been taken to the rebel prison for any length of time, I should not have survived the ordeal even though unwounded. And I now believe that, if I had not been wounded, I would never have returned from rebel prison alive.

I lay after the Confederates were out of sight, anxiously looking into the open ground for the sight of the "Blue Coats" and the "Stars and Stripes." The time seemed interminably long to me. I felt sure that the rebels would come back and retake the ground or that they would drive off the Union Army, and I would still be a prisoner in their hands. It seemed to me like hours, yet I suppose it was not more than fifteen minutes, before I saw a column of soldiers advancing across the field in the open ground right over the place where I had been wounded, and they were Union troops with the old flag at their head. I knew then that the day was ours and that I was again in good hands. I raised a yell to attract attention and one of the men came over to where I lay. He said that the ambulance corps would be over the field in a short time and take me off, that there were many killed and wounded and that I was perhaps further over on to the Confederate side of the field than any of the others. They carried me in a blanket to the edge of the timber fronting our position where I could signal the ambulance corps and left me.

While I lay in that position, one of our Regiment, J. S. Wilson, now of Hills Siding, came to me and I gave him my name and Company and told him to report that I was wounded to the Adjutant. It is certain that he performed this duty faithfully for my name was published as wounded in a letter in the Iowa City Republican, written by our Adjutant, Sam D. Pryce, that evening, giving a description of the battle. Our Captain, D. J. Davis, was instantly killed in the charge in the morning and there were

many casualties in the Regiment, many killed and wounded. There were a number also of our Regiment taken prisoners about the same time that I was. Lieutenant S. C. Jones, Nick Boyce, Bob Smith, and Barney Tallman, all of our Company, were captured and served a long time in rebel prisons.¹⁷ Boyce and myself had been previously doctoring for sore eyes. My eyes were very sore at the time of the battle, as were his, so bad that I could not bear the light of a tallow candle shining upon them at a great distance. Boyce's experience in rebel prison caused him to lose his sight entirely, and I am satisfied that, had I escaped rebel prison, I would probably be blind also had I not been wounded.

I lay on the field where they carried me until after dark before the ambulance reached me in gathering up the wounded. I began to think I would be compelled to stay there all night because I was so far into the rebel position that they would scarcely expect to find wounded Union soldiers so far over. They found me finally, placed me in an ambulance and took me back to the mouth of the ravine mentioned in the opening of the battle as the point where we deployed on to the field in the morning. There had been temporarily arranged a field hospital, composed of a few tents and tent flies. The tents were all full and on the ground outside, with no covering save the stars, were hundreds of wounded.

I had, previous to leaving the field, secured another blanket, as the night became very chilly, but, when I got to the hospital, blankets were scarce and they took one of my blankets from me to cover some fellow who had none. I lay on the ground all night with nothing except a drink of coffee, and chilled and cramped so that I felt that I would chill to death before morning or die of cramps. But I lived through it, and when the sun came up and warmed the air I felt better.

Soon the wounded were loaded into ambulances and jolting over the rough and uneven ground of the fields and the roads, suffering intensely from the jarring and shaking, were taken to hospitals in the town of Winchester.

I was picked up by an ambulance of the 6th Army Corps and taken to their hospital and placed in the Taylor House, one of the largest hotels there, in a small room on the second floor without carpet, chair or bed of

¹⁷ The 22nd Iowa lost 2 officers and 9 men killed, 3 officers and 60 men wounded, and 31 men missing or captured, for a total casualty list of 105. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIII, Part I, 114.

any kind, and lay upon my blanket on a hard floor. Soon after being taken into this room, I was called upon by one of the assistant surgeons, who asked me how I was wounded. I believe he did not remove the bandage from my leg, which was simply a handkerchief tied tightly around the outside of my pants leg. Ascertaining, as he thought, the severity of my wound, he told me that I would have to be patient as the surgeons were all busy and were taking the cases up in order as they deemed most urgent and when they reached my case they would attend to it.

In this room, without an attendant or light and with but slight provisions of coffee and hard tack, I spent another night, wondering how long it would be before they reached me. About noon of the next day, forty-eight hours after I was wounded, I was taken down stairs to the operating table and placed under the influence of chloroform. Before I became unconscious, I asked the surgeon in charge to save my leg if possible. He said he would do that certainly. When I regained consciousness, I was lying on a straw tick by the side of another wounded man, not suffering any particular pain, but was unable to decide whether my leg had been amputated or not until I asked the nurse. After a day or two things were placed in better order and we had regular attendants, nurses, waiters, and surgeons, who gave us daily attention as our several conditions required.

As before stated, I was suffering with very sore eyes and was placed in a cot in the dining room of the hotel facing a row of windows. The light from the windows in the day time or the light of a tallow candle at the farther end of the room caused me intense pain in my eyes but this was a secondary matter and I gave it but little thought. I suppose I might have had my position changed by asking. At the time I was wounded, I also received a slight wound on the back of my hand which knocked off the skin, but I did not feel the wound and would not have known of it had I not noticed my hand all covered with blood and swollen to the thickness of two hands. The scar remains today.

After a week or ten days, I was taken by nurses and carried on a stretcher from the Taylor House to a tent in the Sheridan Hospital, the field hospital established at Winchester. Even the motion of the cot while being carried caused me extreme suffering, and, being carried in the open air without any covering for my eyes, they also suffered severely and it seemed to me that the distance must have been a mile though I suppose I was carried but a few rods. In this hospital, I was placed in the middle

tent of three set end to end where I could not see the sky or get the direct rays of the sun upon my eyes. Soon after being taken to Sheridan Hospital, a nurse from Washington by the name of Mrs. Frick came into our ward, who proved to be a distant relative of mine. She procured for me a shade for my eyes which greatly helped them and in two or three weeks they improved so much that I could begin to read ordinary print.

During my stay in the hospitals in Winchester, three men died of wounds upon the cot next to mine. After a short time, when all of the worst cases had died or been removed and the others were convalescing, or apparently so, we had a very jolly crowd of wounded boys. The doctor's orders to us were that every soldier must crack a joke once a day, and various were the devices we took to get off sells on our surgeon and turn the laugh upon him, and we often succeeded in selling him beautifully.

One of the largest of these boys, a great big stout six-footer, who was constantly joking and laughing, died in a few days by my side. Mrs. Frick, who dressed the wounds of most all in our ward, called my attention to his case while he was yet joking, entirely ignorant of his own condition. One morning, after dressing his wound, while he was constantly chafing and teasing her, she turned to me and said "Poor fellow! He can't get well." I was very much surprised, but in forty-eight hours her prediction was verified.

During the time that I was there in the tent, the election for president was held. I was of age, it would have been my first vote, and I was very anxious to cast it for Lincoln. The different states sent commissioners to the field to take the vote of their soldiers. Iowa's commissioners were in the field and came to the hospitals but, being in a 6th Corps Hospital, the commissioners did not find me.

By reason of the fact that I was picked up on the field by the 6th Corps ambulances, I did not see a soul I knew for thirty days. It was on the day of the battle of Cedar Creek, where Sheridan made his historic ride, that I met the first one of our Regiment and the first person of my acquaintance since the battle of Winchester. In looking around for wounded from the battle of Cedar Creek, they blundered into our tent and I sent out word where I was and asked the boys to come in and see me. I had nothing to complain of in the way of treatment and would not have been removed, if I could, to our own hospital after spending several weeks in such good company.

Mrs. Harris of the United States Sanitary Commission came to Winchester and bought all the provisions and supplies that came to the market and distributed [them] among the soldiers, causing her own cooks and attendants to feed us and see that we were properly waited upon. She would not intrust provisions to the hospital stewards for fear they would be confiscated for the benefit of officers. Of course the wounded officers were treated as well as the privates but officers were required to pay for their provisions and by this means she obtained funds to purchase all that she desired. We lived better than at any time in my experience in the army. I remarked once that I longed to get to a general hospital, where we would be better treated and taken care of. Mrs. Frick warned me to let well enough alone. She said we would never receive such treatment as that when we got into a hospital in one of the large cities. Her words were verified by my later experience.

After about five weeks, I raised up one evening in bed to take my supper and was enjoying myself very much and felt unusually well, when the soldier on the next cot to mine on the right looked over and said, "You are bleeding." I threw the cover off, tore off the bandages, and discovered that the outside artery had burst open and I had perhaps bled a quart or more when it was discovered. I sent for the nurse and doctor in haste for fear I would bleed to death. The nurse came and applied some iron to the wound which stopped the bleeding. When the surgeon came in he told me that was better than to re-tie the artery, as it would all have to heal up again, and that I should be very cautious in my movements and not make any exertion. You may suppose that I was extremely careful the next few days, not raising myself up by my own strength even to eat my meals but lying upon a headrest, and did not turn over in bed or move at all unless it was positively necessary. But the sequel of my bleeding was certainly a matter of congratulation. Every day when my wound had been dressed up to that time I asked the nurses how it looked, not being able myself to see it. They always said it was doing first rate, "looks well," "getting along all right," but the day after the bleeding there was an appearance of healing on the wound, perhaps a surface around the edge of a quarter of an inch or less, and the nurse at once brought a glass so that I might see how much had healed since the bleeding occurred. I then discovered that in five weeks time my wound had not shown a sign of healing on the outside, but from that time on it continued to heal very rapidly

without any interruption until it was nearly healed over. I discovered that we had been living too luxuriously on Mrs. Harris' extra provisions, and the good army hospital provision would have been better for my wound.

As I mentioned previously, while I was in the Sheridan Hospital, the battle of Cedar Creek occurred in which General Sheridan made his famous ride. We usually heard the news of the day in our tents, and the night before the battle occurred we were informed that Sheridan had gone back to Martinsburg on his way to Washington. The army was encamped about twenty miles from Winchester.

On the morning of the 19th of October, about four o'clock, we distinctly heard the guns of the battle and they continued for a long time and seemed to us to come nearer and nearer. We believed that Sheridan had gone to Martinsburg and were very nervous because he was not at the front. About noon word came to us that Sheridan had stayed all night in Winchester and that he had gone to the front when the battle began. From the time we received this news, the battle seemed to go farther and farther away instead of approaching.¹⁸ It was the confidence the soldier had in the ability of Sheridan as a commander more than the fact that the battle had actually come much nearer to us in the morning and had gone in the other direction in the evening. The probabilities are that our judgment would have been worthless as to distinguishing whether a battle at twenty miles distance was approaching us or receding. For my part, in the morning I felt very uneasy, knowing that if we fell into the hands of the rebels we would be in a very sad plight, being entirely helpless. But as soon as I was informed that Sheridan was in command at the front, I felt entirely easy about the matter and was made aware that the others had the same feeling, without their actually saying so.

After the battle, Oscar B. Lee of our Company, brother of Captain Charles N. Lee, was brought to the hospital, severely wounded, and died the next day. Many others of course were killed and wounded in this battle but no others of our Company, I believe, died from the effects of their wounds. At the battle of Cedar Creek, Joshua B. Hughes, the last of the "pony mess" was severely wounded in the left shoulder which ended his active services as a soldier.

¹⁸ For Sheridan's account of his movements before the battle, and of his famous ride back to the front, rallying the retreating men as he went, see Sheridan, *Memoirs*, 2:66-92. This ride was the basis of Thomas Buchanan Read's famous poem, "Sheridan's Ride."

The "pony mess" was composed of six of the smaller men of the Company, originally, J. B. Hughes, S. E. McGee, Nick Boyce, Bob Smith, Barney Tallman, and Dick Thomas. The last named, Thomas, died at New Orleans and I was taken in with the ponies in his stead. At Winchester, two years after enlistment, every pony was on duty and went into the battle. Smith, Boyce and Tallman were taken prisoners, and McGee and I wounded. Hughes being wounded at Cedar Creek wiped the pony mess off the muster roll and left the rest of the Company to enjoy quiet in their absence, for all the tricks, jokes or pranks played upon them were either the work of the ponies or attributed to them, which was much the same as they seldom denied the charges though not always guilty.

About the 1st of November our hospital was broken up and the wounded removed to different places. I was taken with many others to the hospital at Frederick, Maryland, within twenty miles of my birthplace. This place, with the exception of an incident or two, was the most undesirable of my hospital experiences. We had here a Thanksgiving dinner of turkey but I think one soldier could have eaten the rations supplied to three or four for that dinner. Our coffee seemed pretty good in the morning, it was weaker at dinner, and very weak at supper, showing conclusively that they had used the same grounds for three meals; and the convalescents who went to the dining room told us that the coffee grounds were placed upon boards in the sun and dried for future use.

While here, Aunt Mary Haines and Aunt Margaret Wolfe (now Huffman) drove up from Union Bridge to visit me, brought me some good things from the old home and made me a very pleasant visit, and called the attention of relatives in Frederick by the name of Myers to the fact that I was there and desired them to call upon me.

Oliver Myers was a rebel sympathizer and was under surveillance of the military authorities at Frederick. A few days after my Aunts' visit, he came into the ward where I was with a basket of provisions upon his arm to see me. He shook hands and his first remark was that he was sorry to see me there. I told him that I had no regrets whatever and he needn't expend any sympathy upon me at all. I asked him to take a seat and had inquired about the family and answered a question or two, when the door opened at the farther end of the barracks, which were long one story buildings, and the "grand rounds" entered the building — the surgeon in charge making his daily inspection with his attendants — when Mr. Myers jumped

to his feet and started to go. I told him to keep his seat, he would not be disturbed. He said, "No, I must go, they don't want me here." I tried to persuade him to remain, assuring him that I would protect him but he insisted on going and went at once, and I did not see him again until years after the war. I wasn't very sorry for I don't suppose our conversation would have been very enjoyable to either of us. He was a good hearted, jolly, generous friend and I met him at Union Bridge years after and had a pleasant talk with him but no reference was made to his visit to me at Frederick.

The provisions supplied to convalescents at this hospital were so scanty that it created great dissatisfaction among those who were able to go about. Several New York boys who were there made application to the surgeon to transfer them to the convalescent hospital in New York. This he refused for fear the reduction in numbers would so weaken his hospital that it would be discontinued and he would be out of a soft job. These boys apparently had friends at home and they made application of General Dix, then in command of that department at New York, who issued a general order transferring all convalescent soldiers who needed apparatus or limbs to be transferred to the Central Park Hospital in New York where they would be convenient to manufacturers. It was perhaps the forepart of December when this order came and I had not, up to that time, been out of bed at all. The surgeon frequently told me to get up on crutches but I, not being supplied with them, had not attempted to get up until the day before we were to leave for New York. I found it very ticklish work at first even to stand but after some practice I could get about. The next morning we left the hospital. There being a slight snow upon the ground, we took busses to the train, were required to change cars in Baltimore in snow and slush, and arrived at night in New York where we [were] quartered at a transfer hospital, standing near the battery at the lower end of Manhattan Island at the foot of West Street on the Hudson River. Here, while going up three or four steps, I slipped and fell and struck my wounded stump against the step above me, bruising it badly. From that time my wound ceased to heal or improve for many months and I attribute the backset to the lick it received in that fall.

The next day we were taken in ambulances to the General Park Hospital which is now a fine art gallery in Central Park, near Mt. St. Vincent not far from the upper end of the park.

There were no sick at this hospital unless they were taken sick while there, all were convalescents assembled there for the purpose of receiving limbs or apparatus from the government. Here was the jolliest crowd of soldiers for a lot of cripples that ever were congregated in one place. All seemed happy and enjoyed life as well as if they were able-bodied and sound men.

We were in New York City, in the heart of the finest park in the world, were at perfect liberty to go and come whenever we wished, were not disciplined in any respect except for misbehavior and, having never thought of it before, I now reflect that I do not recall at this time one case of discipline among the inmates during my stay there, which was up to the time when the hospital was abandoned in July of the following year. Here we had a Christmas dinner that was the finest dinner served to us since leaving home. It was good and there was a great abundance of it. We were also visited every two weeks by the ladies of the Rose Hill Aid Association and our Chaplain, William Oland Bourne, who took charge of our dining room and gave us a supper of their own provisions, after which we were treated to an entertainment of music and song which was a great relief to the monotony of our every day provisions and entertainment.

Mr. Bourne was a remarkable man to remember names. When we went there, I think about sixty in number, all at one time, he came in, took every man by the hand, asked his name, his Company and Regiment and where he was wounded, said a few words, repeated the name, Company, Regiment, and where he was wounded without being prompted, and passed to the next man. At his next visit three days later, he met every man, called his name, Company and Regiment and told him where he was wounded with but very few mistakes.

I got acquainted here with John H. Bearry, who lost both arms and received three other wounds at the battle of Gettysburg. He was then trying to get an arm that he could make some use of but up to that time he had been unable to get one that would do him any good whatever. He was very despondent and discouraged, but he found a manufacturer in New York who subsequently made him an arm with which he would write, feed himself, take off or put on his hat and do almost anything that did not require use of fingers. He had this arm about two weeks when he wrote his own letters, and I have many letters now that I received from him afterward. At the time of our Reunion in Des Moines in 1870, I ran

across this same John H. Bearry. He knew that I was an Iowa soldier and hunted me up and insisted that I should go with him to his home and make a visit. He was then living at Mitchellville in Iowa, and had since the war married and bought him a home there and was at that time United States postmaster. He had stock and himself fed his pigs their slop, and frequently took the road and canvassed for books, so useful had his arm become to him that he could do many things that one would suppose impossible for a man in his condition.

During my stay in Central Park occurred the great fire that burned Barnum's Museum at the corner of Broadway and Anne Streets, New York.

About the 1st of April, I took a furlough of thirty days and went down to Union Bridge, Maryland, to visit relatives there. While I was at Union Bridge, about fifty miles from Washington, occurred the assassination of President Lincoln. It might be of interest here to describe the intense feeling created in Maryland from this tragic event, when it is known that President Lincoln had to disguise himself and pass through Baltimore on a train in the night ahead of his regular scheduled time to escape threatened assassination in that City when he went to Washington to take his seat as President. I do not know from personal experience what the intensity of the shock was in the western states but if the feeling was any greater than it was in the vicinity of Union Bridge, forty miles from Baltimore, it must have been tragic indeed. A gloom black as night seemed to spread a pall over the feelings of the people who had recently been glorying over the near approach of peace, feeling that the war was at an end and peace would soon again reign over our disturbed land. An incident or two may serve to give an idea of the intensity of the feeling.

A boy about my age, who had formerly been an acquaintance when we were school boys, had been promulgating his rebel proclivities and threatening the whole Union and Abe Lincoln included, but his declarations and threats had been passed over as merely so much wind by the people who cared little for his talk, which included the threat that if he was drafted into the army the first man he would shoot would be Abe Lincoln. He was laughed at and told that he would go to the war just like anybody else if he had to. The day after the assassination of the President, one Lieutenant Angell, who had enlisted from that vicinity and had been killed at Petersburg, Virginia, was buried in the neighborhood. Of course the funeral of a deeply mourned soldier, combined with the startling news

from Washington, intensified the feelings of the people, and the minister, who was strongly Unionist in his views, preached a sermon that added fuel to the fires of patriotism burning in the breasts of the people of the community. My young friend, Wreck by name, had not been making any threats recently, had been evidently very quiet knowing that the war was about to close and in favor of the Union. But some old friends of ours, two old ladies who were also strongly Unionist, seeing him at the funeral, approached him and having remembered some of his threats made long before said to him, "George Wreck, I hear you have been talking again. The first thing you know you will find yourself in Fort McHenry." George supposed that his time had come. Seeing the military escort sent with the body of Lieutenant Angell, he imagined that they were after him and he left the meeting and went home, leaving his wife to carry the baby about two miles.

I was then staying at Uncle Isaac Wright's in the neighborhood. He was of Quaker descent and uncompromisingly Unionist also. After we returned to his house, Wreck and his father came over to talk with him and plead for the young man. My uncle told them that they knew his sentiments but he would give them one piece of advice, to go home and keep their mouths shut or they would get into trouble. They evidently did so, for nothing further was heard from them while I remained there.

Another incident of the feeling created is of very tragic character. In Westminister, the County Seat of Carroll County where I was staying, there was published a democratic paper by a hot-headed rebel by the name of Joe Shaw. After the assassination of Lincoln, he published a little squib in his paper which read something like this: "A drunken Johnson may be right, a sober Lincoln never was right." A mob gathered at his office, carried out his presses and type, piled them in the street and burned them and told him to leave the town and never return; if he did he would be killed. Shaw left but said he was coming back. In two or three days he returned and went to the hotel, registered, and took a room. A mob of people gathered as soon as it was known that he was in town, went to the room, broke down the door, and shot him down in his tracks. Some attempt was made to investigate the matter and punish the participants but nothing ever came of it.

After my furlough expired, I returned to Central Park Hospital. The location of the hospital was on very high ground and when the weather

got nice in the spring, our surroundings were most enjoyable. We could stroll anywhere in the park. Our rooms were delightfully cool and breezy. A walk of two blocks to 8th Avenue or three blocks to 3rd Avenue took us to the street car line and an hour's ride took us down to the heart of the City, where we would follow our own sweet wills.

In May a great peace procession was held in New York City. We of course became honored guests of the City and were supplied with conveyances, conspicuously placed in the procession, and were driven through the principal streets of New York, through the greatest crowd of people that I ever witnessed before or since. For several miles along the streets there did not seem to be a spot either on the street, sidewalk, the fences, trees, in windows, or on house-tops large enough for another individual to be crowded in. The wheels of the vehicles almost touched the people on the streets as we passed through. I doubt whether New York ever saw any greater gathering than the Peace Meeting held in May after the close of the war.

On the 4th of July we were again brought forward and joined in the celebration of the first Fourth after the close of the war. We were conspicuous in the procession and were taken down on Broadway and feasted in a large hall, and then entertained by a number of noted speakers and readers, singers and musicians, among whom I remember the poet, William Ross Wallace, who read his poem entitled, I think, "Washington."

I stayed at the Central Park Hospital until it was discontinued and required by the park commissioners for other purposes, and from there I was sent to Davids Island in New York Harbor. I have no very pleasant recollections of this hospital, as I was among entire strangers, the other inmates of the Central Park Hospital having left long before I did, I being engaged as a clerk for part of the time to the steward there.

I was soon sent, upon my application, to the hospital at Worcester, Massachusetts, it being my intention to go to Salem for a limb, and Worcester was the nearest point to which I could go. I remained at Worcester hospital, which was named the Dale U. S. A. General Hospital, for several weeks and during that time made frequent trips to Boston and Salem preparatory to getting my final discharge and returning home. I was compelled to stay in Boston several days, as there was no stopping point nearer to Salem where I could get government lodging and board.

After I got through with the necessary business in Worcester and Salem,

I applied for my discharge which was issued to me by the surgeon in charge of the Dale Hospital at Worcester on the 4th day of October 1865. I was wounded on the 19th day of September 1864, being over a year in hospitals waiting most of the time for my wound to heal.

I mentioned heretofore that after my fall on going to New York from Frederick that my wound stopped healing and showed no sign of improvement for many months. When I visited Maryland on my furlough in April, my wound was still unhealed and I was recommended to go to an old bone doctor living near our old home by the name of Study. He was not a regular practicing physician or a regular graduate but very successful in many cases. He had a wide practice throughout that country. Uncle Dan Wolfe took me to his place some eight or ten miles away and I got medicine from him which I took with me back to New York. From the time I commenced to use his medicine, my wound began to heal but very slowly and did not heal up completely until late in the summer, I think about the time I left Central Park. When it finally healed up it seemed to be entirely well and since that time I have had no further trouble with it. This accounts for the fact that I served in the army more than a month over the time for which I enlisted and was discharged from the service long after the Regiment had been mustered out.¹⁹

After receiving my discharge, I took transportation to the nearest paymaster's office, which was then in Boston, presented my discharge, descriptive roll, and demanded my final pay. At this time the government or at least this special paymaster had become very economical in the matter of government expenses and he first refused to pay me until he knew whether or not my Regiment had been mustered out of the service. Although I knew that the Regiment had been mustered out sometime before their three years expired, I told him that their time was out on the 9th day of September but whether they were still in the service or not I had no official knowledge. He finally paid me off and I left Boston to make another visit at my native place in Maryland.

Our friends there wished me to stay all winter and visit among them and at first, having nothing whatever to do and no plans for the future, I concluded it would be as good a thing as I could do. But after spending the holidays and part of the winter I became very anxious to again see

¹⁹ The 22nd Iowa was mustered out of service July 25, 1865, at Savannah, Ga. *Roster and Record*, 2:574.

the folks at home and concluded that although it was mid-winter I would start at once, and left Union Bridge sometime in February to make a visit with friends and relatives in Cardington, Ohio.

After a very few days visit in Cardington, I resumed my homeward way just after one of the severest blizzards of that winter, from Cardington up to the main line of the Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne & Chicago Railway at Crestline. The weather was extremely cold and when I arrived at Crestline, I learned that the roads west were completely blocked with snow and that no train had yet been through west as far as Chicago but I was informed that a train was making up to start at once. I did not hesitate a moment but made up my mind to go as far as the train could go and if that got stuck in the snow to stick with it. The train, not having any schedule time, started before I was ready. I grabbed the hand rail, was pulled on (being then on crutches) by a fellow passenger, and was again on the way home.

We found the railroads blocked with snow near Chicago. Our train ran in on the Illinois Central and while so doing saw a passenger train of that road stuck in the snow drifts with the passengers out helping to push it through the snow. But we reached Chicago without accident and I started that evening on the Rock Island for home.

When I arrived in Iowa City, the ground was covered with a very heavy snow and the weather was very cold. I took a bus at the depot for the old Crummy House (now the Schaedler House), being the hotel where we stopped on our first arrival in Iowa City when we came west. The streets were crowded with sleighs and people, and while passing along, brother J. W. Stover discovered me sitting in the bus. Being unable to make his way through the crowd on the sidewalk, he took to the middle of the street and on the dead run followed the bus to the hotel and met me as I landed at the hotel.

It was not long until I was at home among friends and relatives and finally and permanently "back from the war."

Although crippled in the service and disabled from labor of many kinds, which required me to adopt new plans for the future and left me "at sea" as to what should be my future occupation, I came home fully satisfied with the results of my service with regards to its effects upon myself; glad that I could say I served until the cause for which I gave so little, compared with the sacrifice made by so many, was won honorably, the Union saved, slavery dead, and treason made odious; proud that I and mine could

say in future that I was one of the millions of patriots who fought to perpetuate a free government "of the people, for the people, by the people, that it might not perish from the earth."

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

THE APPOINTMENT OF JAMES WILSON AS SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

[Evidently the appointment of Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture in Franklin D. Roosevelt's first Cabinet, in 1933, recalled to the mind of an Iowa politician the circumstances under which James Wilson, Iowa's first Secretary of Agriculture, received his appointment in 1897. H. G. McMillan, the Republican state chairman in 1895-1897, wrote the following account of the appointment, which was published in the *Traer Clipper*, April 14, 1933. James Wilson of Traer, known throughout the state as "Tama Jim," served longer than any other Cabinet member — from 1897 until 1913, receiving successive appointments from Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Under his guidance, as McMillan points out, the Department of Agriculture, first established in 1889, grew in importance.

Of interest, in the light of McMillan's article, are the contemporary news stories and editorials from the *Des Moines Register*, which follow the McMillan story. These accounts illustrate the dangers of relying too heavily on contemporary newspaper stories for political facts, since the underlying maneuvering leading up to the Wilson appointment is completely hidden in the 1897 *Register* stories.]

WRITER REVEALS "INSIDE STORY" OF TRAER MAN'S CABINET APPOINTMENT.

James Wilson, of Tama county, or "Tama Jim" as he was familiarly called, was Iowa's first secretary of agriculture.

He was appointed by President William McKinley, beginning his term of office when McKinley was inaugurated March 4, 1897.

He was reappointed by Roosevelt and again by Taft, continuing in office sixteen years as secretary of agriculture and establishing an all-time record, no other cabinet officer to this day having continued in office this length of time.

His appointment created some surprise even in Iowa where he was best known. While he had served a term in congress [sic. Actually, three terms:

1873 to 1877, and 1883 to 1885.] some years before and at the time of his appointment was dean of agriculture in the college at Ames, he had not been active in politics for some time and was not believed to be in line for political preferment.

The influences brought to bear and the circumstances under which his appointment was obtained were not generally known at the time. Only a comparatively few who were active in obtaining the appointment were "in the know" and understood how the appointment came about.

In fact, it is a chapter in the political history of Iowa that has never been written.

We had just passed through one of the most memorable and spectacular campaigns in the history of the United States. Even in 1840, in the days of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too" when General [William Henry] Harrison was elected President, the excitement was no greater than in the free silver campaign of 1896.

Never before had the people so generally sought to post themselves on the issues involved and in no part of the country was the interest greater than in Iowa. Prices were low, money scarce and times were as hard as they are now.

The farmers were selling corn and oats at 8 and 10 cents a bushel, and hogs sold for \$2.90 a hundred in Chicago in September, 1896. Rallies everywhere were largely attended and between rallies, curbstone and cracker-box orators drew large crowds at the street corners.

The argument for "free silver" and more money strongly appealed to the farmers, who were selling their corn at 10 cents a bushel and feared they would lose their farms through foreclosure on account of lack of money to pay interest and taxes.

The writer was chairman of the Republican state committee at that time and our first poll of the state indicated Iowa might be lost to the Republicans.

After one of the most thoroughly organized and intensive campaigns ever staged in Iowa, McKinley carried the state by a few hundred more than 65,000 majority.

At the St. Louis convention where McKinley was nominated, Albert B. Cummins was chosen as member of the national Republican committee from Iowa. J. W. Blythe was first selected by the Iowa delegation, but declined the honor, and Cummins was named in his stead.

Afterwards, Mark Hanna, chairman of the national committee, appointed Cummins a member of the executive committee, and in consequence Cummins was in Chicago a good share of the time during the campaign and took an active part in the work of the national committee.

Almost immediately after the campaign was over, on account of Iowa's splendid loyalty to McKinley and the Republican party, the eleven Republican candidates for congress being elected as well as McKinley, claims were being made in Iowa papers that the state should be recognized in McKinley's cabinet.

In this connection, Cummins was mentioned as especially qualified for the office of attorney general. He was a brilliant lawyer and one of Iowa's most popular campaigners, and had been a candidate for senator a short time before when [John H.] Gear was elected.

Having had such an important position with the national committee and having taken an active part in a campaign so highly successful, he appeared to have strong claim for recognition.

Among the congressmen who had been elected was Capt. J. A. T. Hull of the Des Moines district, who had served many terms in congress and was chairman of the committee on military affairs. As soon as Cummins' name was mentioned in connection with a cabinet position, Captain Hull's friends immediately brought him out as a candidate for secretary of war.

"Uncle Dick" [Richard P.] Clarkson, who was then owner and editor of the Register [*Des Moines Register*] and a veteran of the Civil war, vigorously supported Captain Hull and insisted the old soldiers should be recognized. He claimed that on account of his gallant service in the war and his experience at the head of the military committee in congress, he was exceptionally well qualified for secretary of war.

Many of the other papers in the state supported Hull and it soon became apparent that unless something was done to harmonize the situation there would be a bitter rivalry between the two candidates for a cabinet position.

I have already mentioned that I was chairman of the Republican state committee of Iowa. I had been the year before in 1895, the year that Governor [Francis M.] Drake was elected and had taken part in the campaign of Senator [William B.] Allison when he was re-elected in 1896.

When the rivalry between Cummins and Hull was beginning to become somewhat heated, word came to me from Senator Allison by special messenger that he regarded the political situation developing in Iowa as most

unfortunate and that if it continued it would be very unlikely that Iowa would obtain any cabinet position.

He indicated to me that as I was chairman of the Republican state committee and at the head of the party organization I should put forth my earnest endeavors to harmonize the situation. Allison was then one of the great leaders in the United States senate and was looked upon in Iowa as our ablest and wisest statesman, and a suggestion from him was accepted by the party workers with almost the force of law.

After hearing from Allison as indicated, I felt that I could not rightfully shirk the responsibility that he suggested I assume, and that I should undertake to discover some plan to bring about harmony in the party ranks. For many years I had known Henry Wallace, editor of *Wallaces' Farmer*. . . .

Wallace had supported the Republican ticket in the campaign just closed and conducted a discussion of the money question from the farmers' standpoint in the columns of his paper during the campaign.

He was without doubt the ablest and most forceful agricultural writer of his day and had great influence with the farmers. I had often consulted with him during the campaign and had great confidence in his judgment.

I went to see Wallace and explained the problem I had to deal with and asked his advice. After hearing my explanation of the situation, he said it was a mistake for Iowa to ask for either the attorney general or the secretary of war.

What Iowa should have, he said, was a secretary of agriculture. Iowa was the outstanding agricultural state of the nation and the farmers of Iowa had loyally stood by McKinley in the campaign when the temptation was great to leave the party, and they were the ones who were entitled to recognition rather than the legal fraternity or even the old soldiers.

Naturally the question at once came up — who would be an available candidate. I suggested Henry Wallace himself. He vetoed my suggestion at once. . . .

Wallaces' Farmer was rapidly building up and already had strong support among the farmers of the state. Wallace said he liked his work and did not want to leave his paper. He said, however, he had in mind "just the right fellow for the job." I asked him who and he replied: "Tama Jim Wilson."

At that time I hardly knew Wilson and was somewhat in doubt as to whether he was well enough known to make a strong candidate. Wallace

was sure his record was all right, and the more it was gone into the stronger he would become.

Before committing myself I told Wallace I would want an interview with Wilson. Wallace then agreed he would arrange to have him come down from Ames the next evening, which he did, and Wallace, Wilson and I went over the whole situation. I then learned Wilson had served in congress with McKinley and had been on most friendly terms with him while in congress.

He was willing to become a candidate if we thought best to bring him out. Before we adjourned, Wallace and I agreed that Wilson ought to be the candidate from Iowa, and we would see what could be done in his behalf. We all agreed that the only hope of success would lie in our ability to persuade Cummins and Hull to retire from the field in the interest of party harmony. As matters stood then this looked like a most difficult task.

My relations with Cummins during the campaign had been pleasant and quite intimate. We co-operated and pulled together throughout the campaign. Cummins and Wallace also were on very friendly terms, so we decided we would see him first and submit our plan in the interest of harmony. When we saw him he at first hesitated somewhat, but was much impressed with the claims of Iowa as an agricultural state.

He finally agreed that he would withdraw as a candidate in the interests of harmony if Hull would do the same, but expressed the opinion Hull would not give way.

At that time what was known as the "Stand Pat" crowd was in the zenith of its power, and Hull had the support of this faction of the party. It was a difficult matter to determine just how to approach Captain Hull.

Cyrenus Cole, late congressman from the Cedar Rapids district, was then associate editor of the Register. He was boarding at Hotel Savery and I had rooms there and usually lunched with him at the noon hour. I took the matter up with him and he agreed with me that an effort to obtain a cabinet position for Iowa with two candidates in the field would be fruitless, and if Cummins was willing to retire from the field in favor of Wilson, Hull ought to do the same.

He agreed to talk the matter over with "Uncle Dick," as we called Mr. Clarkson of the Register then, as he was Captain Hull's most vigorous and ardent supporter.

At first "Uncle Dick" appeared obdurate and not at all inclined to ad-

vise Hull to give way. Different ones talked to both Clarkson and Hull, but apparently we made but little headway. Finally Cole advised me to see Clarkson myself and explain to him Allison's desires in the matter.

I did this and in addition called his attention to the fact that his father, "Father Clarkson," [had] for many years conducted a farmers' page in the weekly Register and was universally regarded as the chief exponent and most loyal champion of agricultural interests in the state of Iowa and that it seemed to me when the time had finally come when we had a good secretary of agriculture at Washington, the first of the kind in our history, we should have his support in such a worthy cause and I hoped he would give the matter his most careful consideration before allowing the opportunity to pass.

He finally promised to do this and said he would see Captain Hull and let me know later what he would do. The result was that he advised Hull to withdraw. Cummins, as he had promised, did likewise and the field was cleared for "Tama Jim."

As soon as the announcement was made that Cummins and Hull had withdrawn and it became known that Wilson was a candidate for secretary of agriculture and that all factions of the party had united upon him, Allison and the entire Iowa delegation in congress got squarely behind his candidacy, and McKinley knowing him in congress and having a big opinion of his character and ability, his appointment soon became almost a foregone conclusion.

While many influences were brought to bear to accomplish this result and different individuals contributed in a greater or less degree to the final outcome, Henry Wallace, I think, is entitled to greater credit than any single individual.

He was the first to suggest the name of James Wilson, and when his own name was proposed, he magnanimously declined to have his name considered and insisted that Wilson was the man for the place, and until his appointment was assured he was earnest and active in his support. It was largely through the influence of Wallace that the agricultural interests of the state were solidly behind Wilson.

When James Wilson became secretary of agriculture [on] March 4, 1897, the department of agriculture was little more than a trifling affair compared to other departments of the government. The building in which the department was housed and carried on its work looked like a country courthouse

in the pioneer days of Iowa, and the appropriations that congress granted for the encouragement and development of agriculture were exceedingly meager.

Under Wilson's administration the department grew and expanded almost by leaps and bounds, and before he retired became one of the most important departments of the federal government. He established the forest reserves and experiment stations in all parts of the United States.

He inaugurated farm demonstration work on a national scale and enlisted an army of experts and scientists to obtain information and develop ideas of benefit to agriculture.

He obtained the confidence of congress to such a degree that he had only to ask for an appropriation to get it. It was during his administration that the repeated lavish appropriations were made to build the magnificent marble structure now occupied by the department of agriculture. It has been said he never asked for an appropriation that was refused.

Since Wilson's time, Iowa has had two of her sons at the head of the agricultural department at Washington. The late E. T. Meredith served for a time at the close of the administration of Woodrow Wilson. A son — Henry C. Wallace — of Henry Wallace who gave such valuable support to "Tama Jim" when he was appointed, was appointed by President Harding and served until his death some three years later, and now President Roosevelt has chosen for his secretary of agriculture a grandson of "Uncle Henry" Wallace.

Thus Iowa has been honored by six different Presidents, counting Wilson's re-appointments, in choosing a secretary of agriculture. In the last thirty-six years an Iowa man has been at the head of this important department more than half the time, and another man from the great cornbelt state that produces twice as many hogs as any other state is again taking charge.

It almost appears that Iowa has sort of a prior lien on this cabinet position. A considerable part of this standing in the nation, I think, can be attributed to the long service and splendid record of accomplishment made by "Tama Jim" Wilson, Iowa's first secretary of agriculture. . . .

[In light of the above reminiscences, thirty-six years after the event, the following contemporary news stories and editorials from the *Des Moines Register*, forecasting the appointment of Wilson, are of interest. On Janu-

ary 15, 1897, the Des Moines *Register* carried the following story on its front page:]

IT CAN BE "TAMA JIM"

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT HAS HIS EYE
UPON THE IOWA AGRICULTURIST.

He has Said That the Secretary of
Agriculture Will Come
From the West

Fact Brought Out that Senator Allison
"Mentioned" Wilson to McKinley,
and That With "Uncion."

"TAMA JIM" FOR THE CABINET

An Iowa man who has been in Canton [Ohio, McKinley's home], has the following to say in regard to a matter of state wide interest, the information is direct and reliable, and there are some reasons to think that it comes from the president-elect himself: "It has become talk in inner circles here that Major McKinley has been thinking favorably of the proposition to select his secretary of agriculture from Iowa. He has from the first said that he wants to choose the head of that department from the Middle West. Ex-Gov. Hoard, of Wisconsin, has been under consideration, but differences of opinion in that state, which is split into political factions, are said to be standing in his way. The president-elect, it may be said, is now looking further west for his secretary of agriculture. He has a desire to recognize the great farming regions of which Iowa is the center, and politicians here believe that Iowa stands a good chance of having this office. The president would like to appoint Mr. Cummins attorney general, but Mr. [Nathan] Goff, of [West] Virginia, has the first offer of that place. There are some things that go to show that he must take his secretary of war from a state farther east than Iowa. This is the way the situation looks now. What is Iowa ready to do in case a secretary of agriculture may be looked for from that state?"

Major McKinley will take his secretary of agriculture from the midland

region. He wants for the head of his agricultural department a practicing farmer, a man of resources and one who has the actual confidence of the farmers of the country. It has been pointed out to him that Iowa of all the states in the Union is the most distinctly agricultural state, and that the secretary of agriculture should come from a state which is so closely identified with the business of farming and which is at the same time so sound on all great financial and commercial questions.

Mr. Wilson is not merely a professional farmer. He has not been an organizer nor an agitator. He is a broad gauged man, a man of common sense, and of experience, of convictions — just the man who would make a great record in the department of agriculture. There is nothing in farming that he does not know and he has at the same time a business man's knowledge of markets and prices and manipulations and all this knowledge he could make of practical use to the farmers of the whole country.

AN AGRICULTURIST

Mr. Wilson was and is a farmer. His Tama county farm is one of the most successful in Iowa. It made him famous. Then he was sent to congress and he took his position with the ablest men in that body. He was as fully equipped for congress as he was for the farm. He was able to hold his own, whether in the committee room or on the floor. He showed the qualities of a statesman. After serving in congress he returned to his farm, until he was called to the Agricultural College, at Ames, where he became the head of the agricultural department and where he has made a record which places that department in the forefront with the best in the world.

That is James Wilson and that is his work for agriculture. He would at once give standing and prestige to agriculture. The farmers of the West want something more than a speech maker and diner-out at the head of their department in Washington. They want the department managed in the interest of the genuine agriculture.

The Register's information from Canton and Washington is to the effect that the president is looking to Iowa or one of the neighboring states for a secretary of agriculture.

The Register is in a position to say that if all will agree on James Wilson for secretary of agriculture he will be the man for the cabinet.

What of Cummins and Hull? Mr. Cummins is out of the race, for there is only one office in the cabinet he would think of accepting and that is attorney general. Mr. Goff, who will be the southern member of the cab-

inet, it seems to be understood, is slated for that place. Mr. Cummins has known of this preference or rather previous selection, for some time. Mr. Hull is still a possibility for secretary of war. He has the backing of the regular army influences. He is popular in army circles because of the able administration he has given as the head of the committee on military in the house, one of the few really great house chairmanships. That friendship is worth much to a man. Gen. Miles is especially fond of Capt. Hull, and Gen. Miles, who is a close relative of Senator Sherman, has in that way a willing ear at the White House. But Capt. Hull has held his friends back. He has had no appeal made to President-Elect McKinley. In a private telegram he said Tuesday: "I am convinced Wilson can be put into the cabinet. I want Iowa to have a cabinet place, and am ready to join on any man McKinley may take."

SENATOR ALLISON'S ATTITUDE

Washington, Jan. 12. — Senator Allison said to-day that the report that President-Elect McKinley had decided to invite ex-Representative Wilson, of Iowa, to a place in his cabinet as secretary of agriculture at his (Senator Allison's) suggestion, had for its foundation the fact that he had recommended Mr. Wilson for this office to Mr. McKinley. He said, however, that he had received no verification of the report that the nomination had been decided upon. The senator added that Major McKinley had asked him if he knew a practical farmer from the West. He had then suggested Mr. Wilson, whom Mr. McKinley had known as a member of the house, but that the president-elect had not indicated any decision. "I hope, however," he added, "that Mr. Wilson's fitness has so grown upon Maj. McKinley as to decide him to make the appointment as reported." . . .

[In the issue of February 5, 1897, the *Register* published the following day-by-day account of the appointment of James Wilson:]

IOWA MAN IN CABINET

Prof. James Wilson, of State
Agricultural College, Accepts
a Place

Will Be Secretary of Agriculture in
President-elect McKinley's Cabinet.

Ames, Iowa, Jan. 29. — Hon. James Wilson, professor of agriculture in the Iowa Agricultural College, received a telegram last evening from President-elect McKinley asking him to come to Canton at once. Mr. Wilson had arranged to take the train for Des Moines on business connected with the college, but on receiving McKinley's telegram, he made hurried arrangements and took the evening train for Canton.

Canton, O., Jan. 29. — Ex-Congressman James Wilson, of Iowa, came to Canton on the Pennsylvania train from the West, and about 10 o'clock reached the McKinley home. With Maj. McKinley and ex-State Librarian Joseph P. Smith, he passed an hour in the private room. When asked by the Associated Press representative if there was any statement he could make regarding his visit to Canton, or the gossip connecting him with the cabinet as secretary of agriculture, he said there was nothing that he could say at present.

Canton, Jan. 30. — Hon. James Wilson, of Iowa, left for his home this morning. He was very reticent touching the results of his visit, but it was not difficult to infer from his talk that he is more than a cabinet possibility, and that he may accept the agricultural portfolio.

Ames, Feb. 1. — Special: Prof. James Wilson returned this morning from Canton, O., where he was tendered the position of secretary of agriculture by President-elect McKinley, and has accepted the same. His many friends here extend congratulations. . . .

[On February 19, 1897, the *Register* published the following editorial, commenting on the appointment of Wilson:]

A CHAPTER IN POLITICS.

The appointment of "Tama Jim" Wilson as secretary of agriculture has given great satisfaction not only at home, but throughout the country. No appointment could have given more general satisfaction. Not a voice has been raised in criticism, that we have heard. That is a remarkable thing in connection with an appointment to a seat in the cabinet. The Iowa men who participated in the bringing out of Mr. Wilson naturally feel some pride in the appointment. Even the *Register* has felt a little pride in the fact that it was among the first if not the first to suggest Mr. Wilson for the agricultural portfolio, and certainly the first not only to predict, but to announce that he would be appointed.

There has been some misapprehension which, we think, ought to be dis-

pelled. It was at the time given out that there was the least tinge of rivalry among several Iowa men who had been mentioned for places in the cabinet, especially Congressman Hull and Mr. A. B. Cummins. The Register happens to know that both men stepped aside and waived all consideration, as soon as they saw that Mr. Wilson had become a possibility. Mr. Hull wrote from Washington that he would not allow his friends even to suggest his name to the president-elect as long as "Tama Jim" was considered for the office of secretary of agriculture. Mr. Hull did restrain his friends and participated in advancing the candidacy of Mr. Wilson.

It is also true that Mr. Cummins when he was called to Canton, just before Senator Allison made his visit there, was under consideration for the position of attorney general. He would have been in the line of appointment when Mr. Goff declined the position (he was afterwards persuaded to reconsider his declination). When the president-elect asked in regard to a suitable man for secretary of agriculture, Mr. Cummins recommended Mr. Wilson, with whom Maj. McKinley had served in congress. Mr. Cummins then and there waived any right to consideration that he might have claimed. He informed Maj. McKinley that he did not want to be considered in connection with the office of attorney general as long as Mr. Wilson's appointment was under consideration. Mr. Cummins did a generous and characteristic thing for Mr. Wilson whom he was able to recommend in the highest terms. Mr. Cummins came home and talked the matter over with Mr. Wilson whom he met here by appointment. It was at that time that The Register learned, direct from Canton, how seriously Mr. Wilson was under consideration and predicted his appointment. After the consultation with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cummins wrote to Maj. McKinley, the result of his conclusions. Senator Allison had in the meantime added his approval and in due time Mr. Wilson was sent for and offered the place.

These explanations form an interesting chapter in Iowa political history and they are at the same time due to the two men who were at that time in a fair way to be seriously considered for cabinet places. This was one of the years when Iowa was considered to have several men strong enough to be taken into consideration in the formation of the president's cabinet.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The State Historical Society of Iowa

During the months of October, November, and December, 1957, the Society added 309 new members. One Life Member, Dr. Carl A. Heise, Jr., of Jewell, was added during that period.

Mrs. Dorothy Houghton of Red Oak has presented her scrapbooks, covering her work with the State and General Federation of Women's Clubs, to the Society. The scrapbooks cover the period from 1917 to the present.

The following resolution was adopted at the December 18, 1957, meeting of the Board of Curators of the Society:

RESOLUTION

Ten years have passed since "Bill Petersen" became Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

In that time — largely through his constant, enthusiastic work — this Society has been of more service to its members, has provided them with an outstanding publication program, has popularized the history of our state and particularly its rivers, and has made Iowans much more "Iowa-conscious" than in all the other years of our state's existence combined.

In that time our membership has grown by leaps and bounds and we now have the largest membership of any State Historical Society in the United States but one — and the largest by far of any State Historical Society, the membership fees of which are more than merely nominal.

Ten years ago we were housed in Schaeffer Hall of the State University — in entirely inadequate quarters, without any indicated chance for improvement. Within the year we will be in our own quarters on Iowa Avenue in a building paid for by the generosity of the State Legislature and by the gifts of our many friends and members throughout the state and nation. In this effort, Bill Petersen was outstandingly helpful.

Brilliant additions have been made to our Library, which is one of the finest Libraries of historical books and data in these United States.

In those ten years, in every way, our Society has made sound and solid progress.

Many people helped — that is true — but the inspiration and leadership came from one man — William J. (Steamboat Bill) Petersen — aided very materially by his good wife, Bessie Petersen — and it is only just and right that acknowledgement be made on this, the Tenth Anniversary of his appointment as the Superintendent of this Society.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa that the grateful appreciation of this Society and its members is hereby extended to Bill Petersen and his wife for all they have done for this Society.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that one copy hereof be spread upon the Minutes of this Society, and that the original be delivered to Mr. and Mrs. Petersen by the President, Sam T. Morrison, with the gratitude and affection of all friends of Iowa History.

I, Sam T. Morrison, President of the State Historical Society of Iowa, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing Resolution was unanimously passed by the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa on December 18, 1957.

(Signed) Sam T. Morrison, President.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

October 20-23	Member of Iowa delegation on battleship <i>Iowa</i> , on her trip to Philadelphia Navy Yard, to be put in "moth-balls."
November 22	Addressed luncheon of Scott County members and sponsors of Centennial Building Fund drive.
December 14	Trip to Fort Madison to secure historical data and artistic material on Old Fort Madison.
December 28-30	Attended meeting of American Historical Association, New York City.
January 6	Attended dedication dinner at Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago, sponsored by the Maytag Company, for display of home laundering ("The Tale of the Tub").
January 14	Addressed Davenport Business and Professional Women at annual dinner for their employers.

Iowa Historical Activities

Former Congressman Otha Wearin has written a pamphlet on the historic Mills County courthouse. Mr. Wearin writes of the need to retain the Mills County building for its historic value.

At the quarterly meeting of the officers and directors of the Wayne County Historical Society on January 7, 1958, the society announced that it had a membership of 532, the largest of any county society in the state. Roy Grimes is curator of the Society.

Charter membership in the Butler County Historical Society was closed on November 1, 1957. The officers of the Society are Mrs. Louise Riggert of Allison, president; Ray Tindall of Bristow, vice-president; Mrs. Gomer Evans of Clarksville, secretary; and C. L. Yost of Bristow, treasurer.

The Cedar County Historical Society, at its January meeting at Tipton, adopted articles of incorporation and elected permanent officers. Some seventy members were in attendance, of the 204 charter members. The officers elected are A. L. Mensing of Lowden, president; Curtis Frymoyer of Wilton Junction, vice-president; Mrs. Earl Elijah of Clarence, secretary; and Ina Barewald of Tipton, treasurer. The Society has asked the Cedar County board of supervisors to set aside a room in the new Cedar County courthouse for their use.

The Chickasaw County Historical Society, with 184 annual and 88 life members, elected officers at its December meeting. Mrs. Leota Edson, president; Mrs. Glen Young, treasurer; and Miss Mildred Bigelow, vice-president, were re-elected; Miss Jean Gerber was elected secretary to succeed Rev. Glenn L. Utterback.

Tentative plans for the centennial celebration at Emmetsburg on July 3-5, 1958, were set at a meeting sponsored by the Emmetsburg chamber of commerce in October, 1957. Joe Morrow is president of the chamber of commerce.

A tour of northwest Iowa's historic sites is being planned for some time in the summer by W. D. Frankforter, director of the Sanford Museum at Cherokee. Superintendent William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society suggested the tour to Mr. Sanford. Sites suggested for the tour are the Floyd Monument at Sioux City, the Spirit Lake massacre monument;

the Sanford Museum; and several mills and historic cabins in the area. Mr. Frankforter would be interested in suggestions as to other appropriate sites for the itinerary.

The Lewis and Clark Historical Association in Sioux City is selling bronze ashtrays depicting a map of the state of Iowa, in order to raise money for the work of the Society. The ashtrays sell for \$2.00, which includes membership in the Association. Residents outside of Sioux City can obtain the ashtrays by sending \$2.00 addressed to the Postmaster, Sioux City, Iowa.

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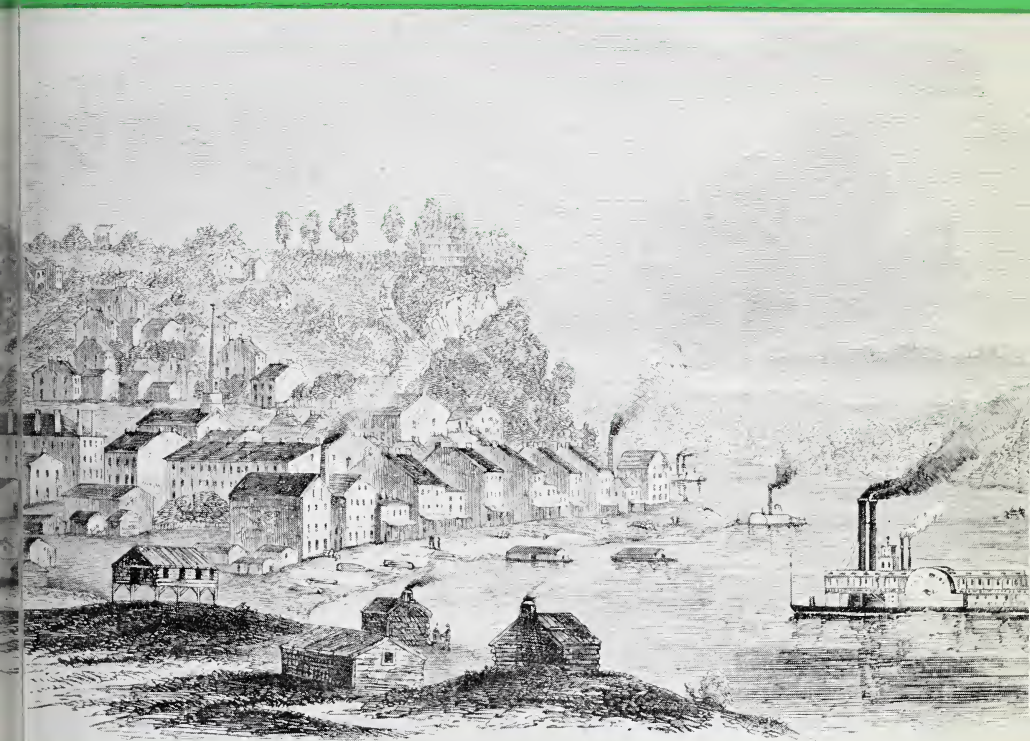
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No 2

CONTENTS

Iowa Railroads and the Des Moines River Improvement Land Grant of 1846	<i>Leonard F. Ralston</i>	97
A Decade of Transportation Fever in Burlington, Iowa, 1845-1855	<i>George A. Boeck</i>	129
Document: Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866 — Part I	<i>Edited by Mildred Throne</i>	153
Historical Activities		188
Historical Publications		190

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COVER

View of Burlington, Iowa, in 1850.

IOWA RAILROADS AND THE DES MOINES RIVER IMPROVEMENT LAND GRANT OF 1846

By *Leonard F. Ralston**

The bizarre conflict over the Des Moines River lands began in the last days of Iowa's territorial period. On August 8, 1846, an act of Congress granted lands to the Territory of Iowa to aid in the improvement of the navigation of the Des Moines River, which runs diagonally across the state, emptying into the Mississippi River at Keokuk in the extreme southeastern corner of Iowa. Section One of that act, later to provide the focus of much difficulty, read:

*Be it enacted . . . That there be, and hereby is, granted to said Territory of Iowa, for the purpose of aiding said Territory to improve the navigation of the Des Moines River from its mouth to the Raccoon Fork, (so called,) in said Territory, one equal moiety, in alternate sections, of the public lands, (remaining unsold and not otherwise disposed of, incumbered, or appropriated,) in a strip five miles in width on each side of said river [italics added], to be selected within said Territory by an agent or agents to be appointed by the governor thereof, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.*¹

The proceeds from the sale of these lands were to be applied to making the Des Moines River navigable from its mouth on the Mississippi to the Raccoon Fork (the site of present-day Des Moines), through the construction of locks and dams and through improvement of the channel by deepening and clearing the river.

The question which arose was whether the land grant coincided with the area to be improved or whether it extended the whole length of the river. The original interpretation of the act by James H. Piper, Acting Commissioner of the General Land Office, limited the grant to the lands bordering

*Leonard F. Ralston is assistant professor of social studies at State University Teachers College, Cortland, New York.

¹ 9 U. S. Statutes at Large, 77-8, as quoted in House Report No. 344 (Mar. 31, 1874), in Vol. 2, Reports of the Committees of the House of Representatives, 43 Cong., 1 sess. (Serial No. 1624), 2. Hereafter cited as H.R. 344.

the river from its mouth to the Raccoon Fork.² This interpretation was for the moment not questioned, and Iowa accepted the grant in January, 1847. A year later, acting, perhaps as one Senator later suggested, under pressure from Iowa's congressional delegation, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Richard M. Young, decided that the grant applied to the whole length of the Des Moines River within the limits of Iowa's borders.³

Ignoring this latest action of his Commissioner, the President, in June, 1848, opened the area above the Raccoon Fork to general settlement, and the government sold some 25,000 acres before the lands were again closed to settlement. In March, 1849, Secretary of the Treasury R. J. Walker⁴ reaffirmed Young's decision that the grant extended to the northern boundary of the state. This decision was reversed in April of 1850 by Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing, and the grant was again defined as reaching only to the Raccoon Fork. In July, however, Attorney General Reverdy Johnson gave his opinion that the grant extended the whole length of the river.

Another important step in the problem developed in October, 1851, when Ewing's successor, Alex. H. H. Stuart, reaffirmed the rulings of Piper, Walker, and Johnson, and said that the grant was co-extensive with the river. Under this ruling, Stuart and his successor as Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, certified lands north of the Fork for eighty miles in the amount of 271,572.24 acres to the state of Iowa for river improvements.⁵

In March, 1856, the question rose again, and again the interpretation changed. Secretary of the Interior McClelland, upholding the Commissioner of the General Land Office who said the grant extended only to the Raccoon Fork, refused to certify any more lands to Iowa.⁶

To this point then, the officers of the federal government had vacillated between the shorter and the longer version of the river and of the land grant, in the process had certified some considerable amount of land to the

² James H. Piper to Register and Receiver of the Land Office in Iowa City, Oct. 17, 1846, quoted in *H. R.* 344, 4.

³ *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess. (Feb. 23, 1861), 1130; Richard M. Young, Commissioner of the General Land Office, to Iowa Board of Public Works, Feb. 23, 1848, quoted in *H.R.* 344, 4, 21.

⁴ The General Land Office operated under the Department of the Treasury at this time, not becoming a part of the Interior Department until 1850.

⁵ *H.R.* 344, 5-8, 13.

⁶ Robert McClelland to Reverdy Johnson, Nov. 10, 1856, quoted in *ibid.*, 9.

state, and, finally (as it turned out), had decided that the grant extended only to the Raccoon Fork. On that understanding, the government refused to certify any further lands to the state. But it was too late; the seed from which the problem grew had been planted.

In 1848 Iowa undertook to improve the Des Moines River, as intended by the grant. From that date until 1854, the state, through its Board of Public Works, directed the improvement of the river, letting numerous contracts, meeting the expenses by selling lands and bonds. Whether there was malfeasance, as some suggested, incompetence, or, more probably, whether the problem was more difficult than the state's officers could solve, they accomplished little in those six years. In June, 1854, after the work had been nearly suspended in 1853, the state entered a contract with the Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company, a contracting company from New York State. The company took over the outstanding debts of the improvement and contracted to complete the project within four years. Within three years the company had accomplished little and had virtually ceased all work.⁷

Samuel R. Curtis, formerly chief engineer for the state on the project, surveyed the work of the Navigation Company and the improvement in these words:

The works on the Desmoines [sic] were projected by me on the same or similar plan I had adopted on the Muskingum in Ohio, except that I tried to simplify and economise in the style of work. Enlargements, and embellishments soon began to occupy the minds of the Board [of Public Works] and since I left the work several changes of plan have been adopted and some work has been completed.

The first plans would have been sufficient for all purposes, and a work could have been made from the lands that would have been of great advantage to the State. . . .

It was then let to the present company, known as the New York Company. They started with a grand flourish about splendid work, and commenced tearing down some work for the purpose of vast improvements. Then came another change and they adopted inferior work as a plan: but in the mean time did very little substantial work. . . . In going along the river, I see but little

⁷ Jacob A. Swisher, "The Des Moines River Improvement Project," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 35:142-80 (April, 1937).

change in real advancement since this company has had hold of the matter. . . .

Most of their expenditures have been

1st in paying off an old debt which had grown up

2nd In scattered . . . preparations

3d In traveling and surveying over and over again the field of operations.

As to what the future held for the river improvement, Curtis said "After so much squandering of the means and so much necessity for further losses before escaping the embroglio [sic] which now overhangs the matter, I am convinced the people of the valley would be best served by applying the remainder to the construction of a Rail Road."⁸

This was not a new idea. As early as 1850 there had been some pressure to divert the Des Moines River land grant from the improvement of the river to the building of a railroad. Before the meeting of the Seventh General Assembly in early 1858, the retiring Governor, James W. Grimes, considered the question of the river improvement land grant. "If I do not recommend a diversion of the Des Moines River grant to a Rail Road I shall favor it. But I think I shall recommend it."⁹ Governor Grimes equivocated, saying to the General Assembly in regard to the Des Moines River grant and the Navigation Company: "you may feel it to be your duty to rescind that contract . . . and make other arrangements in relation to that munificent grant, now in danger of being frittered away without any useful result."¹⁰

On February 17 and 18, 1858, C. C. Carpenter and W. W. Belknap of the House of Representatives and Wm. Loughridge and J. W. Jenkins of the Senate were appointed a committee "to make a full and final settlement" with the Des Moines River Navigation and Railroad Company. By the terms of the settlement agreed upon, the company gave up all claims against the state in return for all the lands of the grant Iowa had remaining certified to her, to be conveyed "as fully as the State of Iowa could have under or by virtue of said grant, or in any manner whatever." According to the recommendations of this committee, 266,109 acres were to be released to the company, of which 212,742 were above the Raccoon Fork. The state was to re-

⁸ Samuel R. Curtis to C. C. Carpenter, Dec. 4, 1857, *Cyrus Clay Carpenter Papers* (Iowa State Dept. of Hist. and Archives, Des Moines).

⁹ James W. Grimes to Carpenter, Nov. 30, 1857, *ibid.*

¹⁰ *House Journal*, 1858, 23.

tain claim to the uncertified lands which had been granted in 1846, and to grant them to the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota Railroad, provided all previously incurred liabilities were met and the work at Keosauqua, Plymouth, Bentonsport, and Croton were completed by the railroad out of the proceeds of the grant.¹¹

The legislature, overcoming moves to divide the remaining lands among several railroads, provisionally bestowed the lands as recommended by the committee. Fifty thousand acres immediately above the last certified lands "which may hereafter be certified by the General Government to the State of Iowa" were set aside for the purpose of paying the liabilities and completing the river improvement.¹² At the same session of the legislature, a Memorial and Joint Resolution was passed, asking the permission of Congress to divert the land grant from the river improvement to the building of a railroad.¹³

Having brought the history of the Des Moines River Improvement lands up to 1858, it remains to introduce what some have called the villians of the piece. On May 15, 1856, Congress had granted lands to the state of Iowa to aid in the construction of four east-west railroads, three of which, in their proposed lines, would cross the Des Moines River north of the Racoon Fork, and all three lying within the limits of that portion of the grant north of the Fork certified to the state under the ruling of 1851. These east-west railroads had opposed the transfer of the river grant to the building of a north-south railroad. They disliked the idea of a competitor for the traffic of the Des Moines Valley, and they wanted the lands for themselves.¹⁴ Even as the state was making the settlement with the Navigation Company and diverting the remaining lands to the building of the railroad up the Des Moines Valley, the Dubuque & Pacific, northernmost of the four cross-state roads, cast covetous eyes on the Des Moines River lands. These lands were well watered, heavily timbered, and already relatively heavily settled. In all, they were very desirable lands to financially hard-pressed railroads.

In May, 1858, Governor Ralph P. Lowe, perhaps the most ardent of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 310-11, 334; *ibid.*, 1864, 174; *Laws of Iowa, 1858*, Joint Resolution No. 4, pp. 427-9.

¹² *House Journal, 1858*, 639-40; *Laws of Iowa, 1858*, Chap. 99, pp. 195-8.

¹³ *Senate Journal, 1858*, 565.

¹⁴ Mildred Throne, "C. C. Carpenter in the 1858 Iowa Legislature," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 52:39 (January, 1954); *Des Moines Tri Weekly Iowa State Journal*, Mar. 19, 1858.

Iowa's Governors in his feeling that railroads provided the solution to Iowa's quest for prosperity, wrote to Platt Smith, vice-president of the Dubuque & Pacific and the company's most important officer in Iowa, concerning a suit the railroad was bringing to test the title of the Navigation Company to the lands above the Racoon Fork. After informing Smith that the lands over which the suit was to be brought were not claimed by either the state or the Navigation Company, the Governor went on to "suggest or submit some remarks against the propriety of your Company taking any steps to draw in question the validity of that grant . . . north of the Racoon fork." The first point that Lowe brought up concerned the meaning of the grant. He was convinced that a fair construction of the law would give the state the land to the northern border of the state (if not to the source of the river in Minnesota). The proper departments in Washington had again and again recognized the grant as extending north of the Fork and "that if left alone she would give at least the lands under the grant to the north line of the State, amounting to 300,000 acres yet undisposed of." With this aid, a railroad up the valley could be built.¹⁵

Lowe then turned to the eventuality that the grant might be restricted, as the railroad hoped. The railroad, in addition to its already magnificent grant of 1,300,000 acres, would get an additional 30,000 or 40,000 acres, "but while you would be getting that much more, the State and the people of the State would be deprived of 260,000 acres which they would otherwise get for railroad purposes." This would not be the only loss to the state, for she would still have to pay off the debts of the river improvement to the total of from two to three hundred thousand dollars. A large number of innocent settlers would be deprived of their homes unless they purchased the same lands over again.

"I think your Company would hardly be satisfied to bring on such a train of evils, even if they thought they could succeed." Even if they did succeed, said Lowe, the land would be tied up in suits for several years, and of no practicable good to the railroad. The quest for a few thousand more acres, in addition to their original grant,

. . . would be very apt to be construed a want of good neighborhood by other portions of the State, and lead to conflict between yours and other companies. This I think ought to be considered.

¹⁵ Governor Lowe was, as a resident of Keokuk, very much interested in building a railroad up the valley, often speaking of it as "our road."

Our railroad system as projected is a very good one; our interest in the State is one and instead of getting into a fight among ourselves we ought to unite and adopt some kind of policy in reference to our railroads which will work to an early completion of the whole.¹⁶

The Navigation Company was not concerned at this time about losing any suit brought by the railroad companies, but it was worried that the delay entailed in judicial action might be used, as it was, to raise doubts of ownership and enable squatters and timber thieves to trespass on the lands to the ultimate prejudice of both the company and the state.¹⁷

Not deterred by Governor Lowe's stirring appeal, the Dubuque & Pacific arranged with the Navigation Company to bring a test suit before the Supreme Court of the United States. Edwin C. Litchfield of the Navigation Company consented to be the plaintiff against the Dubuque railroad. Judge Charles Mason of Burlington served as attorney for the Navigation Company, and Platt Smith of Dubuque acted in like capacity for the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad. Although Judge Mason exuded confidence in the outcome, the Court decided that the grant never extended above the Racoon Fork and that the lands certified to the state had been transferred improperly. The Court held that "All grants of this description are strictly construed *against* the grantees; nothing passes but what is conveyed in clear and explicit language." As a consequence of this decision, the state had no title to grant to the Navigation Company and there was no legal title extant to these lands prior to the railroad claim. Thus the persons to whom the state sold and granted lands had no title. Presumably the lands in question would inure to the railroads.¹⁸

Thus, by 1860, the status of about 265,000 acres of land along the course of the Des Moines River north of Des Moines was contested. The state had sold land (about 53,000 acres) to settlers in financing the river improvement when it was under its direction. They granted 212,000 acres previously cer-

¹⁶ Ralph P. Lowe to Platt Smith, Executive Journal, *Governors' Papers*, G XI, Vol. 7 (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines). The exact date of the letter is unknown, except for the following note in the journal: "The following letter was addressed to Platt Smith in the month of May, 1858; the date was accidentally omitted in the copy preserved."

¹⁷ John Browne to Ralph P. Lowe, Aug. 5, 1858, *Governors' Papers*, G II, Box 625.

¹⁸ Charles Mason to Ralph P. Lowe, Oct. 15, Dec. 26, 1859, *ibid.*; Dubuque & Pacific RR Co. vs. Litchfield, 64 U. S. Reports, 66.

tified to the Des Moines River Navigation and Railroad Company in settlement of their contract, and had granted all the remaining rights to the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota Railroad Company.

The Navigation Company, on dissolving after the agreement of 1858, had repaid many of its bondholders with Des Moines River lands. Some of these former bondholders had in turn sold the land to third parties. The three railroads north of the Racoon Fork claimed that all of these transfers were illegal, and they were upheld by the highest court in the United States. The state had no title to grant and therefore the railroad grant of 1856 was paramount. On this basis, the railroads proceeded to encumber and sell the land in their own right.

Both Congress and the executive branch of the government recognized the principle, actually made only by implication, that the lands in question belonged to the railroads. On March 2, 1861, Congress in a Joint Resolution gave all title still retained by the United States in the lands "along the Des Moines River, and above the mouth of the Racoon Fork thereof, in the State of Iowa, which have been certified to said State improperly by the Department of the Interior, as part of the grant by act of Congress aproved [sic] August 8, 1846, and which is now held by *bona-fide purchasers* under the State of Iowa" to the state.¹⁹ The Commissioner of the General Land Office, J. W. Edmunds, in a letter to C. B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, expressed the opinion that this Joint Resolution "only relinquishes to the State such lands as shall be left over after making up the full grant to the railroad companies."²⁰

The following year Congress gave the state title to such lands as remained by extending the grant, somewhat tardily, to the northern boundary of the state on July 12, 1862. The intent of the grant was to give Iowa title to the lands above the railroad grants, in all, about 100 miles northward along the course of the river, for the benefit of the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota Railroad, which had been promised the residue of the lands in the grant when the state settled with the Des Moines Navigation Company in 1858. The state received permission to divert this grant to the railroad, and in addition, got indemnity lands to compensate for all the lands lost along the river which presumably belonged to the railroads, for the state just as

¹⁹ 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, 251, quoted in H. R. 344, 14-15.

²⁰ As quoted in a letter from Platt Smith to Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, July 14, 1862, *Governors' Papers*, G II, Box 626.

presumably lost title under the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Dubuque & Pacific vs. Litchfield* case.²¹

On September 11, 1862, an extra session of the General Assembly accepted the grant of indemnity lands and authorized the Governor to appoint a commissioner to select the lands. The Governor appointed David W. Kilbourne who was, with William Leighton, lessee of the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota Railroad. This followed a previously set pattern of allowing the interested party to select the lands.²²

How much land the railroads claimed under the interpretation in force after 1860 is uncertain. At one time the Register of the State Land Office said he could find no lands in the confines of the Des Moines River grant which had been certified to the railroads, but at another time, in reply to a request from the House of Representatives, the Register said:

This office has never been furnished with plats of the lines of said Roads, not any one of them, nor with maps or lists showing particularly all the lands claimed by them. The only lists showing the land claimed, are those furnished by the Commissioner of the General land Office, certifying to the State for the benefit of the different Roads, such lands as the Commissioner and the Secretary of the Interior have decided are subject to the Railroad grant.

There may be other lands claimed, he said, but not yet passed on by the Commissioner. Therefore he included a list which he considered imperfect but "sufficiently accurate to answer the purpose designed."²³

<i>Type of Land</i>	<i>Claimed by D. & S. C.</i>	<i>Claimed by C. R. & M. R.</i>	<i>Claimed by M. & M.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Of the 212,741 acres to D.M.N. Co.	49,440	80,213	14,560	144,213
Of the 53,830 acs. sold by State	0	28,320	15,085	43,405
Totals	49,440	108,533	29,645	187,618

Two years later, with more detailed information at his command, the

²¹ 12 U. S. Statutes at Large, 543, quoted in H. R. 344, 22.

²² "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1864, Vol. 1, 37.

²³ *House Journal*, 1862, 476; *ibid.*, 1864, 453-5.

Register gave another report of the status of these lands, in a somewhat different manner, and with somewhat different results.²⁴

<i>Portion of Land Certified</i>	<i>Total Claimed by Railroads</i>	<i>Claimed by M. & M.</i>	<i>Claimed by C. R. & M. R.</i>	<i>Claimed by D. & S. C.</i>
Prior to Oct. 30, 1851 107,195.78	None Certified	0	0	0
Oct. 30, 1851 81,707.93				
Total	69,293.12	34,269.81	35,023.31	0
Sold by State		19,074.48	16,804.44	
To D. M. N. & R. R. Co.		15,195.33	18,218.87	
Mar. 10, 1852 143,908.37				
Total	120,245.15	0	74,279.78	45,965.37
Sold by State			13,542.50	2,988.22
To D. M. N. & R. R. Co.			60,737.28	42,977.15
Dec. 17, 1853 33,142.43				
Total	11,221.82	0	0	11,221.82
Sold by State				446.84
To D. M. N. & R. R. Co.				10,774.98
Dec. 30, 1853 12,813.51	None Certified	0	0	0
Totals	200,760.09	34,269.81	109,303.09	57,187.19
Sold by State		19,074.48	30,346.94	3,435.06
To D. M. N. & R. R. Co.		15,195.33	78,956.15	53,752.13

²⁴ "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1866, Vol. I, 59-61, 133-61.

From this it can be seen that the railroads were claiming 200,760.09 acres of the total of 266,571 certified to the state above the Raccoon Fork and either sold by the state or conveyed to the Navigation Company. The Mississippi & Missouri claimed 34,269.81 acres, the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River claimed 109,303.09 acres and the Dubuque & Sioux City (formerly the Dubuque & Pacific) claimed 57,187.19 acres. The railroads claimed 52,-856.48 acres out of 53,830 acres sold by the state and 147,903.61 acres out of 212,741 acres conveyed to the Navigation Company.

These figures are not as accurate as the fractional parts would indicate, or at least they did not equal the railroad figures. Platt Smith in 1862 said the Dubuque & Sioux City claimed 3,813.74 acres which had been sold by the state, whereas the Register's figures for the Dubuque & Sioux City were 3,435.06 acres.²⁵ In spite of uncertainty about exact figures, it can be seen that the railroads claimed the lion's share of the lands certified to the state north of the Raccoon Fork.

After 1859 and the favorable Supreme Court decision, the railroads had proceeded to encumber and sell the lands they claimed. In 1862 Platt Smith wrote the Governor that he was in the process of selling 20,000 acres of river lands. In the 1868 "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," C. C. Carpenter of Fort Dodge surveyed the activities of the Dubuque & Sioux City. This road, which he said had not the energy to build past Iowa Falls, nevertheless

. . . had the remarkable enterprise to go as far west as the Des Moines Valley, sixty miles in advance of any completed road, where its agents have sold large quantities of valuable lands. As the right of these companies to dispose of land more than twenty miles in advance of completed road, was generally questioned by the best legal minds, to give these transactions a businesslike air, the land was first transferred through the agency of mortgages and a process in the courts, to what was called the "Homestead Company," (generally understood to be an *alias* for Dubuque & Sioux City Railroad Company), and then sold out in small tracts by this company.²⁶

With all parties at least temporarily conceding railroad claims after the decision in *Dubuque & Pacific vs. Litchfield*, the General Assembly took up

²⁵ Platt Smith to Kirkwood, July 3, 1862, *Governors' Papers*, G II, Box 625.

²⁶ *Idem*; "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, 61-2.

the task of clearing the title to the lands in contest. The Eighth General Assembly had hardly had time to hear of the decision, let alone realize its significance and formulate plans to act upon it, so the first major efforts were not taken until 1862.

The most important approach to the problem grew out of the failure of the railroads to meet the requirements set up in the land grant of 1856. In that act, each railroad was required to build 75 miles by December 1, 1859, 30 miles annually for five years thereafter, and to have the whole road completed by December 1, 1865. Under these conditions, by December 1, 1861, just prior to the meeting of the Eighth General Assembly, each road should have had 135 miles of track completed in order to maintain the commandments of the original grant. None of the roads had so much built. All were in default on one or more counts. This condition of arrears gave the legislature a lever which could be used to require the railroads to relinquish claims to the Des Moines River lands.

The majority report accompanying a bill to resume the grant of the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad reviewed the wording of that part of the grant of 1856 which referred to lands previously reserved and came to the conclusion that this clause was "evidently intended to cover the River Lands," thus justifying resumption for the purpose of recovering these lands.

The minority report opposing the same bill consigned the conflict over the river lands to the courts, where, it was felt, the question most properly belonged. Representative W. J. Moir, spokesman for the minority, did not consider the entanglement of river land titles a sufficient cause for resumption. Both of these reports show that settlement of the Des Moines River claims was an important function of this act to resume lands. The bill did not become law, did not, in fact, even pass the House of Representatives, where it originated.²⁷

In this bill, and in subsequent bills with the same intent, a distinct animus toward the Navigation Company was manifested. Some of that ill-feeling was expressed in a letter from Charles Pomeroy of Boonsboro to Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, commenting on the legislature's action. "To us this action of the Committee [recommending resumption] has every appearance of being dictated by . . . the Des Moines N & R R Co, a co[mpany] whose swindling schemes and notorious rottenness ought long ago to have made

²⁷ *House Journal*, 1862, 520, 529-31.

them a stench in the nostrils of all honest man [sic].” Pomeroy also stated that he wanted a railroad more than a quiet title, even though he had bought land at \$15 per acre and had a great deal invested in improvements. He did not state from whom he derived his title.²⁸

A bill introduced in the Senate called for resumption of the Dubuque & Sioux City grant and, on regrant, the specification that the company contracting for the lands should specifically relinquish any rights to swamp, school, University, saline, or Des Moines River lands. The question of the Des Moines River lands came up in debate, where it was averred by Senator George W. McCrary of Lee County that the north-south railroad was entitled to as much protection as the east-west lines. Senator Jacob W. Dixon of Wapello County spoke for protection of actual settlers, but he thought the Navigation Company was at the bottom of this resumption scheme. Senator S. G. Smith of Jasper County said it looked to him like the Navigation Company was afraid now to go to court, having lost the Litchfield case, and was trying to accomplish its nefarious aims through the legislature. All spoke favorably of protecting the actual settlers, but many questioned whether resumption would in fact aid the settlers, or whether it would chiefly redound to the benefit of the Navigation Company.

Senator John F. Duncombe of Fort Dodge, then an attorney for the Dubuque & Sioux City, had expounded on this point at greater length in the minority report from the committee to which the bill was referred. The Navigation Company, he said, went into the settlement with its eyes open. They were very shrewd businessmen, much shrewder, he hinted, than the legislators, and they realized at the time of the settlement that they were to take all the risk. The Company got far more than they deserved, actually, but now were asking for relief. Should the legislature, he asked, “disturb millions of capital that has been invested to the very great benefit of the State,” just to satisfy the greed of this grasping institution? He proposed that instead the state should refuse to certify more lands until the railroads relinquished their claims to school, swamp, and state-sold lands occupied by actual settlers, but *not* the Navigation Company lands.²⁹

The same committee, reporting again on March 21, recommended resumption of the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River grant, on the grounds that

²⁸ Charles Pomeroy to Kirkwood, Mar. 21, 1862, *Governors' Papers*, G II, Box 626.

²⁹ *Senate Journal*, 1862, 326, 350; *Des Moines Daily State Journal*, Mar. 29, 1862.

by not building connecting lines or "plugs" between Clinton and Lyons, and between Cedar Rapids and Marion, they had failed to live up to the terms of their grant. This bill was referred to the railroad committee, a majority of which opposed it, saying, "The friends of Resumption when they speak candidly, only claim that they want to use the 'bug-bear' of Resumption to force them to surrender some of the rights they acquired under the Grant."³⁰

A second principle under which settlement of the conflict was attempted was in the nature of offering rewards, rather than threatening punishments. At the same session, a bill was introduced to require the land-grant railroads to release "Swamp, School and River lands on the lines of the several roads and providing for the compensation thereof, by an extension of the time of building said roads and issuing State Warrants." The act directed the Governor not to certify further lands to the three northernmost land-grant railroads until they issued releases for these lands, extended the time of completion of any part not then completed for one year beyond the time provided by law, and in case the courts decided the state had no title to the lands, the Auditor would issue state warrants to the railroads for the school and river lands so released in the amount of \$1.25 per acre, to be used for the payment of taxes to the state. This bill passed the House, shorn of the provision for compensation, but never became law, for it could not gain the favor of the Senate, where a similar bill died after introduction.³¹

The only act passed by the General Assembly dealing with this problem in 1862 was an attempt to regain the lands with the offer of a reward. In it, the Dubuque & Sioux City was offered an extension of time for building their road if they would release "certain Swamp, School and River Lands on the line of said road." More specifically, it referred to lands of the above nature occupied by actual settlers, and, on the Des Moines River lands, to those holding title from the state. It did not include any monetary or other compensation for lands released, only the extension for one year, as before.³²

This act did not operate as intended, even though, in 1862, Platt Smith seemed willing to accept it. "We intend to comply with the requirements of the State Legislature to the letter, in good faith." Again he wrote:

³⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1862, 418, 506.

³¹ *House Journal*, 1862, 447, 842; *Senate Journal*, 1862, 563, 596, 600.

³² *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Chap. 153, p. 177.

The question between the railroad Company and the State of Iowa under the State act of last winter, can be settled between yourself [Governor Kirkwood] and the railroad company to the mutual satisfaction of both parties; and in such a manner as to do complete justice to all actual settlers who are entitled to any protection whatever. In fact we regard the act of the State legislature passed last Winter, though a very hard one on us, a final settlement between the company and the State.³³

By 1866, however, Smith had changed his mind and reversed himself completely. One of his reasons for reversing himself was hinted at earlier in 1862, when he expressed his distrust of the Navigation Company, stating that they were "in full force at Washington, notwithstanding all the previous decisions of the courts, the Com'r of the Gen'l Land Office and the Sec'y of the Interior," implying that they were trying by chicanery to obtain that which duly constituted authority had denied them.

Smith's suspicions were confirmed by 1866. He wrote Governor William Stone that he had not complied, that he was not complying, and that he did not intend to comply.

No such release has ever been made or filed; and if we had made & filed the release as required by law it would not have taken effect on anything for the reason that the Dubuque and Sioux City R R did not own a foot of land described, at the time, but had previously conveyed it to third parties. Another reason was that the act, although it would at first blush appear to be made for the benefit of actual settlers, was actually gotten up by the Des Moines River Navigation Company with the view of defrauding us out of all the lands in the neighborhood of Fort Dodge, known as the Des Moines River lands. If the title to the lands had been in the company, and if we had made a release as required by the act, the Des Moines River Navigation Company would have been successful in their design.

Smith also expressed doubt about the legality of such a measure as the act of 1862. "The legislature has no right to compel us to convey lands without any consideration which may have been donated for the purpose of being sold for a valuable consideration to aid us in building the road."³⁴

Beneath all the protestations of having no lands to convey, of being afraid

³³ Platt Smith to Kirkwood, July 3, 14, 1862, *Governors' Papers*, G II, Box 625.

³⁴ Platt Smith to Kirkwood, July 3, 1862, *ibid.*; Platt Smith to Governor William Stone, Feb. 7, 1866, *ibid.*, G II, Box 626.

the Navigation Company would benefit, and of the illegality of the measure, it is possible the lack of any punitive measure encouraged Smith to disregard the law without fear. All the railroad had to lose was some public sentiment, and at this point they had an ample supply of that in reserve.

A third approach to the conflicting claims had been used in 1862, when the state legislature turned to the federal government for aid in untangling the puzzle. The General Assembly approved a joint resolution requiring the Senators and asking the Representatives from Iowa to use their influence to stop any further sale of lands in the area of the Des Moines River grant until Congress should act to quiet title to the grant. This was to prevent any further incursion onto the lands until the grant could be confirmed to Iowa. They also asked for legislation to confirm the remaining Des Moines River lands to Iowa for the use of the railroad. This, as we have already seen, was accomplished.³⁵

Samuel J. Kirkwood, in his biennial message to the General Assembly in January, 1862, considered the state morally bound to protect the rights of the innocent purchasers of land in dispute between the state, the Navigation Company, and the railroads. At that time he did not suggest any definite plan of action, as Woolsey Welles, attorney for William B. Welles asked him to do. Welles, one of the assignees of the Navigation Company, had 13,000 acres at stake. His attorney wanted the Governor to recommend some positive action to force the railroads to relinquish their claims to the Des Moines River lands.³⁶

As retiring Governor in 1864, Kirkwood took a firmer stand. He notified the legislators that the Dubuque & Sioux City had not complied with the act requiring the release of river lands and that he had consequently not certified any further lands to them. It seemed to him that the acts of Congress in 1861 and 1862 had "put it in the power of the State to do something towards an amicable and equitable adjustment of this difficulty." If this were not the case, then the Attorney General should be "directed to bring or cause to be brought in the Courts of the United States, if it may be done, such suit or suits as will procure from the Supreme Court of the United States a final decision of these vexed questions."³⁷

³⁵ *Laws of Iowa, 1862*, Joint Resolution No. 19, p. 250.

³⁶ Woolsey Welles to Kirkwood, Dec. 11, 1861, *Governors' Papers*, G II, Box 625; *House Journal*, 1862, 26.

³⁷ *House Journal*, 1864, 16-17.

Since nothing had been accomplished by the General Assembly in 1862 and nothing was done during the interim years, the General Assembly again turned its attention to the problem of the Des Moines River lands in 1864. Early in the session, Nicholas Baylies of the House and George W. McCrary of the Senate introduced resolutions asking Attorney General Charles C. Nourse for his opinion of legislation necessary to a solution of the problem of the river lands. In a long and detailed report, Nourse reviewed the whole case and offered several opinions. In regard to the judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of the Dubuque & Pacific *vs.* Litchfield, he wonderingly questioned the decision.

It may be that the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, that there is no Des Moines River above the Racoon Fork, may make it so in contemplation of law — but those who are compelled by their daily observation to know the facts in relation to it, might find some difficulty in maintaining the respect due to the Court, if such experiments on their credulity were too often repeated.

Then Nourse proceeded to anticipate the Court's decision in the Walcott case of two years hence; namely, that while the Supreme Court had ruled that the lands did not belong to the Des Moines River grant, neither did they rule in favor of possession for the railroad companies. Said Nourse:

This question the Attorneys for the Railroad Company seem carefully to have avoided submitting to the Court. In the agreed statement of facts, the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad Company was stated to be in possession, and the fictitious action was so framed that the plaintiff's title was alone put in issue.³⁸

It seemed to Nourse that the act of 1856 granting land to aid in railroad construction was intended to allow for the previous grant to the river improvement project. The section in question of that act reads:

And provided further, That any and all lands heretofore reserved to the United States, by any act of Congress, or in any other manner by competent authority [italics added], for the purpose of aiding in any object of internal improvement, or for any other purpose whatsoever, be, and the same are hereby, reserved to the United States from the operation of this act, except so far as it

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

may be found necessary to locate the routes of said railways through such reserved lands, in which case, the right of way only shall be granted.³⁹

This indicated to the Attorney General that the various executive acts during the period 1846-1856, which gave lands to the state above the Raccoon Fork, constituted sufficient reservation. However much right Iowa might have to the lands, the fact remained that the state did not have them, and that the problem of what to do must be faced. Therefore, turning to solutions, Nourse suggested several alternatives.

It seemed to him utterly fair to trade the so-called indemnity lands provided by the congressional act of 1862 to the railroads in return for the release of all contested lands in the Des Moines River grant. About the efficacy of such action, he had doubts.

I have, however, but little faith in any amicable arrangement with these Companies. The very fact that they have persisted in a claim which, if successful, must involve a large class of our citizens in ruin and may occasion civil war in our midst, and that too, upon a technical claim of right, in violation of the intention of the State that has dealt so liberally with them, is to my mind conclusive evidence that no other considerations than those of interest can reach them.

Fortunately for the state, Nourse thought, this consideration could be brought to bear upon them. He recommended resumption of all the grants by virtue of the ample evidence on several counts that the roads had failed to live up to the provisions of the grants. This he considered the best means of quieting the title, for then all the lands remaining undisposed would revert to the state.⁴⁰

The House, still seeking more information, had meanwhile asked the Governor to answer a series of questions on the railroad grants. Lacking complete information, Governor Stone was unable to answer some of the questions, but concluded a general statement considering the grounds on which resumption would be justifiable with an equivocal statement about the wisdom of resumption. Considering the financial difficulties of the late fifties, and the obstacles raised by the war, the railroads had operated under severe handicaps. While stressing the importance of railroads, Stone said,

³⁹ 11 *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 9, quoted in *H. R.* 344, 11-12.

⁴⁰ *House Journal*, 1864, 179.

"we should not overlook the importance of imposing suitable restrictions on these monopolies [sic], and require of them strict accountability, and a faithful performance of these legal obligations." Politician-like, Stone evaded the issue and made no recommendation at all.⁴¹

The Register of the State Land Office, J. A. Harvey, was less evasive. His recommendation in both 1864 and 1866 was to require the railroads to release the contested lands in exchange for selections from the indemnity grant. Over 270,000 acres had been disposed of, and they had to be made good by some means. In 1866 Harvey went a step further and recommended resumption if, as he supposed they would, the railroads demurred giving up their claims.⁴²

On February 16, 1864, another bill was introduced in the House with the intent to resume the railroad grants unless certain conditions were met, and on February 23 a similar bill was introduced in the Senate. The Senate, after majority and minority reports were filed, did not act on the measure. In the House the bill was referred, not to the railroad committee, but to a special committee of its friends, where the opponents of the bill seemed to feel they would get a fairer hearing. This special committee recommended passage. A minority of that committee, in a report again written by W. J. Moir, stressed the deleterious effects of resumption on the railroads and on the ever necessary supply of eastern capital. Resumption would only result in the loss of the federal grant as it slowed down the progress of the roads, for it could not clear the contest over the Des Moines River lands, but, on the contrary, would only prolong it; it would only "change the place but not the pain." In a long and involved proof, hinging on the decision in the case of *Dubuque & Pacific vs. Litchfield* and the seeming recognition of this decision by the Department of the Interior in its policies and by the Congress in the acts of 1861 and 1862, the report attempted to show that resumption would not give the state title for the purposes they desired, for the lands were for railroad purposes and could only be used as such. Since they were for railroad purposes, the state could not just resume them and grant them to private purchasers, or to the Navigation Company, for this would be a violation of the act granting the lands and would lead to the loss of the grants.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 119, 199.

⁴² "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1864, Vol. I, 39; *ibid.*, 1866, Vol. I, 62-4.

The report also claimed that the cry for resumption came from "those counties most remote from the locality of these roads," and that people along the two northern roads which were the special targets of the act "unanimously protest against resumption, through their Representatives upon this floor."⁴³

The bill, after the report from the special committee, was referred to the railroad committee which reported on February 29. In its report, the committee offered a substitute bill which rejected the principle of resumption and went back to the idea of less severe punishment. In this bill, the railroads were threatened with the indefinite withholding of lands unless they relinquished their claims to the river lands. The question of resumption versus withholding lands was debated in the committee of the whole from March 1 through March 11, when the substitute was passed by the narrow margin of 44 to 39.⁴⁴

During this period of debate, at least fifteen major speeches were delivered, divided between the opponents and proponents of resumption as a means of forcing the railroads to relinquish their claims. Charges of delaying tactics were bruited about during those sessions. As one member said, whenever the House seemed ready to act, "a vigorous effort is made to put it off." Others said this was an extremely serious matter requiring much time for serious consideration. A resolution offered during consideration of this bill also testified to the heat of the passions aroused. The resolution declared it was disreputable for the members to charge one another with being employees of the railroads or the Navigation Company. It proposed that such charges, unless made with a view to formal investigation, be forbidden. The resolution was tabled.⁴⁵

In the end, delaying tactics, if that is what they were, succeeded, for the lesser of two evils, as far as the railroads were concerned, was chosen. The bill, as it eventually passed the House, called for the railroads to relinquish

⁴³ *House Journal*, 1864, 331-5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 447. Of the 39 votes cast against the substitute, or, in another sense, for resumption, 27 were from the counties in the three southernmost tiers, three were from the next northern tier, in the same tier with Polk County, three votes are unidentified, and only six are definitely identified as coming from the 67 remaining northern and central counties. I am at a loss to explain this strongly sectional division in terms other than those expressed by Moir in the minority report cited above: that the feeling of the southern part of the state was "Justice must be done, particularly when it doesn't harm us."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 462.

their claims to the Des Moines River lands, swamp lands, and school lands. They were required to post substantial bonds within ninety days that would guarantee relinquishment to actual settlers. While the Navigation Company and its grantees were specifically excluded, actual settlers purchasing from either of these agencies were to be allowed to retain their land, providing the unpaid balance of any contract was paid to the railroad company claiming the land. Railroads were also required to obtain releases and relinquishments from any parties to whom railroad title of land in question had been sold. Failure to abide by the provisions of the act would result in the withholding of further land certification from the railroads. This was the only punitive measure in the act, and since the Dubuque & Sioux City had been under interdict since 1862 and the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River had not received any lands either, since they had not built either of the required "plugs," then it could not have been very effective.

Attempts to obtain further sanctions on the railroads against deviating from the route as originally laid out, against diminishing the quality of the construction, or against taking lands more than twenty miles in advance of the end of track were attempted but failed of approval. Much attention was paid to the failure of the Cedar Rapids road to construct the "plugs" or connecting lines between Clinton and Lyons and between Cedar Rapids and Marion as required in their land grant, but all attempts to provide coercive measures failed. It must be remembered that these were side issues; the main target was the railroad claims to Des Moines River lands.

Even this achievement was denied the House, for although the bill passed on March 17 by a vote of 47 to 39 (with much the same alignment as before), it failed of approval in the Senate, where it was indefinitely postponed, thus ending consideration for that session.

Railroad lobbyists, known as members of the "Third House," were on hand in Des Moines watching their interests. D. W. Kilbourne of the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota Railroad, heir to the river improvement, was there all through the session. He was primarily interested in getting a bill passed which would give his company some lands and change its name, but his comments to his partner William Leighton provide an insight into the resumption movement. Early in the session, Kilbourne wrote:

The feeling with the members I think has been to resume the grants to the Northern roads & then make terms with them — say

to the roads — you must take your hands off the Des Moines river lands & take other lands, just as you expected to do when the grant was made. If this could be done we should stand a better chance to settle our matters speedily [*sic*] and I got Nourse the States Attorney to believe so & only last night which he spent in my room — he said he would recommend that course.⁴⁶

Kilbourne did have some stake in the matter. "The Dubuque and Sioux City road take of our lands at Fort Dodge about 35,000 acres. In case of resumption we might get these lands."⁴⁷ His position, however, was a difficult one, not only because of the delicate nature of his own negotiations, but because of the pressures from the contesting parties.

We have been so anxious to get a part of our land now — that we have stood almost neutral, though all the time suspected by the Dubuque men and Cedar Rapids. We have done nothing. The Navigation party urge us every day to join them and make resumption sure — but we avoid being identified with them at all — They have no friends and were it not for the fact that the State conveyed the river lands to them there would certainly be no resumption.⁴⁸

"Almost neutral" was about correct, for Kilbourne expressed some sympathy for the Navigation Company.

Browne for the Nav. Co was offended because I would not join his party to fight for Resumption against the other roads and the other roads were ill natured with me because I would not join them against Resumption. I choose to stand aloof from both but have freely expressed my opinion that the hostility manifested to the Navigation Co & the abuse heaped upon them by members of both Houses was entirely wrong & I thought did them great injustice.⁴⁹

H. M. ("Hub") Hoxie, friend and political cohort of General G. M. Dodge, was in Des Moines looking after the interests of the Mississippi & Missouri. He was "working day and night on the subject," and hoped to

⁴⁶ D. W. Kilbourne to William Leighton, Jan. 22, 1864, *D. W. Kilbourne Papers*, Vol. 10 (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

⁴⁷ Kilbourne to Leighton, Feb. 13, 1864, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Kilbourne to Leighton, Feb. 24, 1864, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Kilbourne to Charles Mason, Mar. 22, 1864, *Charles Mason Papers*, Vol. 10 (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

"foil them" on resumption. He feared the temperament of the legislature and appealed to Dodge to make Dr. T. C. Durant, president of the Rock Island, take alarm and help Hoxie in his efforts.⁵⁰

W. W. Hamilton, former president of the Iowa Senate, was there representing the Dubuque & Sioux City, and he kept Platt Smith fully informed of the developments. Smith was concerned about the move for resumption and in a letter to William B. Allison, Representative in Congress from Iowa, he urged Allison to help him arrive at a settlement with C. C. Crocker of the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River of a dispute arising out of conflicting interests in a road between Dubuque and Cedar Rapids. "I am in constant receipt of information from Des Moines that the Navigation Company and speculators in swamp lands are pressing very heavily upon all the railroad companies for a resumption. It is time that the differences among ourselves were fixed up, so that we can present a solid front against the enemy."⁵¹

John Browne of the Navigation Company was also in attendance, following E. C. Litchfield's strategy of trying to get the state to force railroad acceptance of indemnity lands and clear the Navigation Company's claims. In a letter to Judge Mason, Litchfield complained of Kilbourne's attitude, and urged Mason, as did D. O. Finch, attorney for the Navigation Company, to "advise Kilbourne . . . of his true interests."⁵²

Railroad men invariably had some complaint to air about the legislature. Kilbourne's, natural to a man waiting for something very important to his company, was of the very slow pace of the General Assembly.

This Legislature has talked more and done less than any other Legislature ever did in the same time. There are two [sic] many methodist ministers and constitutional Lawyers, the former of whom have to make a disply [sic] of their morality & theology and the latter of their legal learning & law terms — to get along with business. Then there [are] a good many farmers — and they are all afraid of monopolies — as they call R R corporations.⁵³

Platt Smith had none of this impatience; time was his ally in defeating the

⁵⁰ H. M. Hoxie to G. M. Dodge, Jan. 30, 1864, *Grenville M. Dodge Papers*, Vol. 6 (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

⁵¹ Platt Smith to W. B. Allison, Feb. 24, 1864, *Illinois Central Archives*, 8D8.16 (Newberry Library, Chicago).

⁵² E. C. Litchfield to Charles Mason, Feb. 4, 1864; D. O. Finch to Charles Mason, Feb. 15, 1864, *Mason Papers*, Vol. 10.

⁵³ Kilbourne to Leighton, Feb. 29, 1864, *Kilbourne Papers*, Vol. 10.

move to strip his company of valuable lands. On March 5 he wrote: "I am daily receiving dispatches from Des Moines in relation to land grant matters pending in the legislature. We are rapidly gaining ground and hope all will be right there in a few days."⁵⁴

Earlier, Smith had offered an almost prophetic estimation of what would happen, except that he was unduly pessimistic.

The lower house is largely in favor of resuming all the land grants for the purpose of giving the Des Moines River Navigation Company all they desire. I think the Senate is about half and half. It requires a majority of all the senators however to pass any bill, this is more than they can get. Two years ago they only needed one vote. I think they will fail for the want of three or four this year.⁵⁵

By March 8 Smith was expressing defiance. "Company will not surrender a foot of land if the extension [of time of completion] is to be trammelled with conditions in favor of Des Moines river thieves and swamp-land speculators," he telegraphed to Hamilton.⁵⁶

Hot in pursuit of final victory, the Dubuque & Sioux City and the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River were pressing Kilbourne, but he would not be pressed. Kilbourne believed the two upper roads deserved all that was threatened. "The D & S C have a grant of 12,000,000 [*sic.* 1,200,000] acres & yet they must jump on 35,000 acres of our land at Fort Dodge." Kilbourne also indicated the reason for the leap: "[They are] worth as much as 100,000 acres of indemnity lands."⁵⁷

Another measure, similar to one unsuccessfully tried in 1862, was proposed in the Senate. In it, the Dubuque & Sioux City and the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River would surrender all river lands within their grants which had been sold prior to December 23, 1854, or, the lands sold by the state and occupied by actual settlers. This did not include actual settlers holding titles from the Navigation Company. In return for this relinquishment, the state would issue a type of warrant or scrip equal in amount to

⁵⁴ Platt Smith to Fred Schuchardt, Mar. 5, 1864, *Illinois Central Archives*, 8D8.16.

⁵⁵ Platt Smith to George J. Forrest, Mar. 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 8D8.16. Smith in the same letter described the Navigation Company as "a concern that is supposed to have been defunct for many years, but always seems to be resurrected in time to attend each session of the legislature."

⁵⁶ Platt Smith to W. W. Hamilton, Mar. 8, 1864, *ibid.*, 8D8.16.

⁵⁷ Kilbourne to Leighton, Mar. 9, 1864, *Kilbourne Papers*, Vol. 10.

the value of the lands at the rate of \$1.50 per acre. These warrants, drawing interest at 6 per cent and receivable for state taxes, were to be voided if subsequent developments denied the railroad title to these lands. To this scheme, the railroads were favorable. The Cedar Rapids & Missouri River acted forthwith and deposited, in escrow, such a transfer with the Governor and, also in escrow, a bond for \$100,000, guaranteeing the return to the counties of swamp lands sold by the counties prior to January 1, 1861. The Dubuque & Sioux City was also favorable to such a settlement, but Platt Smith, as senior executive officer resident in Iowa, did not act so precipitously. He instructed Hamilton to hold a bond sent to him pending disposition of other matters, chiefly an extension of time. This type of "rewarded relinquishment" was much more acceptable to the railroads.⁵⁸

At least one problem concerning the Des Moines River lands was solved at this session. After the Litchfield case in 1859, numerous persons had seized on the doubtful status of the lands near the river, but north of the railroad grants, and had pre-empted lands. These lands were subsequently affirmed to the state in 1862. By act of the legislature in 1864, these lands, actually occupied by settlers with valid pre-emption claims, were relinquished to the United States so that these settlers could complete their titles.⁵⁹

After all this activity, a look at the record shows essentially nothing accomplished in the matter of clearing the Des Moines River titles. The resumption movement failed in both houses, while the milder measure which did pass the House failed in the Senate. The lobbies were very active and may have been the deciding factor in a legislature apparently evenly balanced on this question. It could also be said that the failure of resumptive measures was also a failure of the Navigation Company claims. Many legislators associated resumption with the Navigation Company. The Company, having no lever to match the attractiveness of more railroads, could only rely on the "honor and justice" of the General Assembly, and those were pale incentives compared to the panacea offered by the railroad builders. The Assembly showed a distinct reluctance to endanger the progress of railroads through resumption. Indignant as many of them

⁵⁸ *Senate Journal, 1864*, 337-45, 516-17; Platt Smith to W. W. Hamilton, Mar. 8, 1864, *Illinois Central Archives*, 8D8.16.

⁵⁹ *Laws of Iowa, 1864*, Chap. 108, p. 131.

were about railroad tactics, they declined to take measures which could halt railroad extension.

Although the basic problem would be solved later in the year, the legislature in 1866 continued to devote much attention to the problem of the river lands in an effort to clear settlers' titles. By this time, the title of the Navigation Company had been given up by the legislature, and they concentrated on clearing the titles of actual settlers.

Early in the session the House passed a resolution:

That the State of Iowa will at all times fully protect its grantees as above cited, and perfect and confirm their titles, or will fully indemnify them in case of the failure of their titles, by the payment to them of the full value of their lands at the time when it may be ascertained that their titles made by the State as aforesaid have failed.⁶⁰

Although the Senate committee reported favorably on the resolution, that body took no action.⁶¹

During the 1866 session, success was achieved in regard to at least two of the claiming railroads. By an act approved April 2, 1866, the state resumed 19,734.48 acres of the Mississippi & Missouri grant within five miles of the Des Moines River and sold by the state prior to the railroad grant. The railroad was to get an equal number of acres of land from the indemnity lands of 1862, "Provided, That none of the indemnity lands set apart in this section shall be certified to the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad Company unless the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide the lands . . . were included in the grant of lands made to the State by Act of Congress approved May 15, 1856."⁶² The act also provided that no indemnity lands should be granted unless the Mississippi & Missouri cleared all incumbrances on the land created by the railroad.⁶³

On March 22, 1866, the second railroad, the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River, voluntarily filed an unconditional release to the state of 28,320 acres

⁶⁰ *House Journal, 1866*, 231-2, 361.

⁶¹ *Senate Journal, 1866*, 400.

⁶² General Hugh T. Reid, representative of the Des Moines Valley Railroad (formerly the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota), claimed credit for this proviso added by the Senate on March 28. This was to protect the indemnity lands from incursion, for they were to be Des Moines Valley lands eventually. Hugh T. Reid to Kilbourne, Apr. 1, 1866, *Kilbourne Papers*, Vol. 13.

⁶³ *Laws of Iowa, 1866*, Chap. 121, p. 128.

of land occupied by actual settlers holding titles from the state within the Des Moines River grant. This was less than the 30,347 acres the Register of the State Land Office indicated the road had in 1864. The railroad also agreed to sell railroad-claimed lands to settlers who held other titles for a reasonable price, "fixed without reference to any improvement." They also provided that if the settler were unhappy with the price fixed, then a new offer would be made by a three-man group, one appointed by the railroad, one by the settlers, and a third appointed by the first two.

The Governor, praising the railroad for its generous gesture, recommended that the road be granted an equal number of acres from the "Indemnity Lands," but the Senate refused to act on this recommendation. Hugh T. Reid of the Des Moines Valley road explained this as a raid on the indemnity lands by an unscrupulous Senator, which, fortunately, was refused by a suspicious Senate.

Bassett [G. W. Bassett] then, without any consultation with me and without my knowledge, and with a letter from [Governor] Stone recommending it [granting indemnity lands] Reported a bill and tried to rush it through but as the Senate have [sic] become suspicious of him he did not succeed. . . . Stone excuses himself by saying that he had not examined and did not understand the matter, which I think is true — All of these indemnity lands which we can Save from being Stolen is just so much saved for us.⁶⁴

Almost as comic relief, the General Assembly in 1866 passed two measures putting a final inglorious ending to the whole struggle concerned with the improvement of the Des Moines River when it asked the Senators and Representatives from Iowa to use their influence to have the river declared "not a navigable stream, to the end that the same may be more cheaply improved as a motive power for machinery," and then passed an act repealing all laws or parts of laws requiring locks to be constructed in dams and draws to be built and maintained in bridges. Thus ended the dream which started the convolutions of twenty years.⁶⁵

As noted above, the Attorney General's opinion of 1862 very closely presaged the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Walcott vs. the Des Moines Company*. The Navigation Company sold

⁶⁴ *Senate Journal, 1866, 485-6, 489; Reid to Kilbourne, Apr. 1, 1866, Kilbourne Papers, Vol. 13.*

⁶⁵ *Laws of Iowa, 1866, Concurrent Resolution No. 3, p. 182; Chap. 41, p. 35.*

a half-section of land to Samuel G. Walcott in August, 1859. When it appeared later that year that the Company had no title to convey, since the state appeared to have none to convey, Walcott sued the Navigation Company for breach of contract. In the 1866 judgment, the court said the maneuverings by the departments of the Treasury and the Interior between 1848 and 1856 constituted reservation by "competent authority" under the terms of the act of 1856 granting land to aid railroad construction.

Now it seemed the railroads had no title to the land either, but by a twist of circumstances, the state and its grantees did, for the acts of Congress of 1861 and 1862 gave the state all title the United States retained (which in the absence of any other title was the only title) and confirmed the grant from the Racoon Fork to the northern boundary of the state. This "after acquisition" worked to the benefit of the Des Moines River Improvement and its grantees. Thus the lands remained in the hands of the federal government and were actually granted to no one until 1861, and then to the state of Iowa for the river improvement and the railroad up the valley.⁶⁶

The Walcott case fairly effectively settled the question of railroad title to the lands along the Des Moines River, although the railroads made vague mouthings about getting a rehearing. James Grant, attorney for the Dubuque & Sioux City, wrote to railroad president M. K. Jesup, "I have arranged with [Platt] Smith to bring suit in the name of the Homestead Company in the State courts . . . to test the Walcott case," but nothing further showed up in the correspondence, and no reversal was obtained, although as late as 1872 the railroads were still maintaining their claim.⁶⁷

But the Walcott case did not solve all problems. Prior to March 2, 1861, when all United States title to the lands in dispute was granted to the state, numerous pre-emptors settled on the lands within the fatal eighty miles north of the Racoon Fork, expecting to be able to purchase them at the minimum price. Prior to that time, title remained in the United States, for the Litchfield case determined that the state had no title and the Walcott case determined that the railroads had no title, but the state, as of March 2, 1861, obtained title. Now, it was claimed by the Navigation Company that they had had title to these settled lands by subsequently acquired title,

⁶⁶ Walcott vs. Des Moines Company, 72 U. S. Reports, 681.

⁶⁷ James Grant to M. K. Jesup, Feb. 6, 1868, *Illinois Central Archives*, 8D8:15.

since what title the state had, had been granted the Navigation Company in 1858. C. C. Carpenter, Register of the State Land Office, held that "no confirmatory act like that of 1861, nor decision of the Supreme Court, can create a title superior to the pre-emption right of a settler," and recommended some legislation to clear the title of these settlers.⁶⁸

Subsequently the General Assembly passed a general law "to Authorize the Governor to release Lands which have been certified to the State by Authority of the Secretary of the Interior, under any of the Land Grants, where Settler's Rights have intervened prior to the Time when the Title vested in the State." This gave the Governor the authority to release any color of title held by the state, when the Commissioner of the General Land Office proved that a valid pre-emption intervened and was in fact superior to state title.⁶⁹

This action was not accomplished without protest from the Navigation Company and its adherents. This point of view was expressed in a minority report on a version of the bill finally enacted. They said the settlement with the company and the transfer of lands involved constituted a reservation by "competent authority" and that no right of pre-emption could intervene. Secondly, they held that the state could not, with justice, reconvey lands which had already been once conveyed, even if they had the legal right to do so.

Having received an admitted consideration for her conveyance of these lands . . . any act on her part which would now impair or take from her grantees, the title which she agreed, and designed, and intended to convey to them, would be little less than open and naked repudiation — a violation of that faith upon which the purchaser of these lands relied — a reflection upon her honor and credit — calculated to weaken and destroy confidence in her sense of justice.⁷⁰

In a sense, this law was a recognition of personal over property rights, for it denied title of lands actually held by settlers to not only the Navigation Company, but to purchasers from the state who were not actual settlers. It prevented these purely pecuniary rights from ousting actual

⁶⁸ "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, 18.

⁶⁹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, Chap. 10, p. 10.

⁷⁰ *House Journal*, 1868, 575.

settlers from land they had "labored for years to improve, with the expectation that when these legal conflicts were finally settled, [they] would be able to purchase it, at the minimum price fixed by the Pre-emption Laws."⁷¹

To add further confusion to an already highly confused situation, Secretary of the Interior O. H. Browning ruled in May, 1868, that the remaining lands in the Des Moines River area, for eighty miles north of the Raccoon Fork and the original portion of the grant certified to Iowa, were subject to pre-emption and homestead. This interpretation was based on the facts that the railroads no longer had a valid claim and that the state of Iowa, since it had accepted indemnity lands granted in 1862, had forfeited its right to these river lands. A number of homesteads and pre-emptions were made in this area and approved by the Department. This interpretation was specifically reversed in the case of *Welles vs. Riley*, in which the Supreme Court held that the lands in the Des Moines River grant transferred to the Navigation Company in 1858 belonged to the Company and had not reverted to the federal government because of Iowa's acceptance of indemnity lands. By this decision, all of the titles conveyed, or in the process of conveyance, by the national government were nullified, as were all other claims based on federal or state title, of dates after March 2, 1861, at which time United States title was conveyed to the state.⁷²

Congress, in 1871, perhaps to propitiate Iowa after the anguish of the preceding years, confirmed Iowa's title to *both* the indemnity lands granted in 1862 *and* the original Des Moines River grant. This brought the amount of land north of the Raccoon Fork granted to the state to more than half a million acres.⁷³

There remained one group of persons unsatisfied by the solutions to the problems thus far achieved. These were persons whose title proved invalid as a result of changes in ownership of the land, but who had no other re-

⁷¹ "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, 17.

⁷² O. H. Browning to Joseph S. Willson, Commissioner of the General Land Office, May 9, 1868, quoted in *H. R. 344*, 27-30; *Welles vs. Riley*, December term, 1869, unreported, as given in *Report of the Commission . . . to ascertain the losses of settlers upon Des Moines River Lands by reason of failure of title* (Des Moines, 1872), 53-4.

⁷³ *H. R. 344*, 33; "Report of the Register of the State Land Office," *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, 23.

course. They were not legitimate pre-emptors or purchasers from the state. They had settled after title was confirmed to the state, purchased in good faith from the railroads, or had made faulty claims, or in some other way failed to get good title, and now stood in jeopardy of losing not only the land but valuable improvements. The state, interested in obtaining relief for these settlers, provided by an act of 1870 for these claimants to submit proof of the value of their improvements and the actual value of the loss sustained as a result of the failure of title before the Register of the State Land Office. These claims were to be assessed by the Census Board, and in the event Congress granted lands for relief, as an accompanying resolution requested, this land was to be given to the claimants according to their loss, or on a pro-rata basis if the claims bulked larger than the value of the grant.⁷⁴

Because Congress did not make such a grant in the intervening years, the General Assembly in 1872 gave the Governor authority to appoint a commission empowered to investigate claims of loss caused by failure of title and to attempt, on the basis of this information, to secure an adjustment of the claims from Congress.⁷⁵ The Governor appointed Norman H. Hart, John A. Hull, and Charles Aldrich. The commission carried out its labors during the spring and early summer of 1872 and reported to the Governor on July 25, 1872. Their results show an amazing multiplicity of titles,⁷⁶ 1,032 claimants, holding 109,057.76 acres worth \$902,777, with improvements valued at \$758,031 and claiming losses due to loss of title of \$800,-870. There were in progress, at the time of the investigation, 245 suits at law. Settlers were being dispossessed daily, and a threat of violence hung over the land, although the commissioners complimented the people involved for the peaceful way in which they had conducted themselves thus far. The commission pleaded for relief for the settlers.⁷⁷

Projecting the problem beyond the period of basic activity, and beyond the period when the problem was solved in principle, there ensued a period

⁷⁴ *Laws of Iowa, 1870*, Chap. 104, p. 107; Joint Resolution No. 20, p. 256.

⁷⁵ *Laws of Iowa, 1872*, Chap. 7, p. 8.

⁷⁶ They found U. S. pre-emptions, homesteads, persons who had made declaratory statements for both of the previous titles, U. S. patents, U. S. duplicates, state deeds, state duplicates, grantees of many of these, grantees of the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad, of the Dubuque & Sioux City Railroad, and of the Iowa Homestead Company and holders of tax titles, claims, and quit-claim deeds.

⁷⁷ *Report of the Commission . . .*, 6, and *passim*.

of twenty years of trying to clear the conflicting and faulty titles. With the claims of the state and the Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company and its assignees definitely established, there remained only the problem of relief for holders of invalid titles.

In 1874 Congress rejected a bill appropriating money to give relief, the bill which resulted in the *House Committee Report* cited. Finally, in 1894, Congress appropriated \$200,000 to be used to buy up conflicting claims, and, at long last, bring a measure of peace to the Des Moines Valley.⁷⁸

This entire episode is from beginning to end but another example of a poorly planned and badly executed policy of federal land disposal. By the simple (or perhaps not so simple) process of a Congress working together with the executive branch in 1856 to make a decision regarding the obvious possibility of conflict, where the railroad grants crossed the Des Moines River grant, almost all, if not all, of the difficulty could have been avoided. If the state claims to Des Moines River lands north of the Raccoon Fork had been either confirmed or denied in a straightforward fashion, there could have been no problem.

Although federal action, by court and Congress, was necessary to a solution of the conflict, the state displayed a willingness, tempered by a desire for railroad transportation, to attempt a solution outside federal channels. The reluctance to employ resumption of the grants as a weapon is comprehensible only if one understands the overwhelming desire for a system of railroads.

That this state action was not too effective is not so important as the effect the struggle must have had on attitudes toward railroads as they were involved. The steadfast battle of the railroads against any settlement except on their own terms, in the face of a considerable disposition to clear the air, must have been "construed a want of good neighborhood by other portions of the State," as Governor Lowe had warned in 1858, and contributed to a growing tide of antirailroad sentiment.

⁷⁸ Swisher, "Des Moines River Improvement Project," 179-80.

A DECADE OF TRANSPORTATION FEVER IN BURLINGTON, IOWA, 1845-1855

*By George A. Boeck**

Burlington and Brighton, Council Bluffs and Centerville, Des Moines and Deedsville — towns of Iowa, towns of the Middle West, towns of America. The map is freckled with them. They grew to be giants, they withered and died, they held their own. They had the same aspirations and fears, they shared common experiences, they fought one another with the same weapons. This is a chapter in the life of one town, Burlington, and a decade of transportation fever, a malady from which few towns were immune. Burlington in itself has but slight intrinsic interest, but as a representative community its story is of great importance. What it experienced was experienced by countless other towns; therein lies its significance. What was happening in Burlington was happening in the other towns of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota; it had already occurred in Ohio and Pennsylvania; it was yet to occur in the still younger areas of the West. This representative quality and the implications it holds for the larger state, regional, and national picture should be kept firmly in mind as the Burlington effort is related.

The Mississippi River between Iowa and Illinois does not afford many natural sites for settlement. Where it does, however, early communities took hold and grew, reaping the benefits which that great artery of trade presented. The Mississippi was to the river towns as the Atlantic to the eastern seaports, vital to their early existence, shaping their character, and directing their orientation. Beneficent and destructive, placid and turbulent, sparkling and muddy, the river made its presence constantly felt. For the men of the early river towns the River was omnipresent.

One such town, Flint Hills — named for the bluffs which rose for a hundred feet above the river — was marked by nature for settlement. At a single point the bluffs retired before the river, leaving a bottom area suffi-

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ciently high for a business district surrounded by a crescent of hills suitable for residences. When settlement was authorized in the Black Hawk Purchase in 1833, Flint Hills was occupied immediately. From the outset it showed promise of becoming one of Iowa's leading towns. In an early account of the Wisconsin Territory, Lieutenant Albert Lea noted that Burlington (the older, more picturesque name Flint Hills had been changed) contained some 400 inhabitants and that choice lots were selling for \$1,500. The Lieutenant concluded that Burlington, the county seat for Des Moines County, must necessarily capture the trade of a large and fertile back country, since it was the only convenient site for a settlement between the Chacagua (the present-day Skunk) and Iowa rivers.¹ In addition to its natural advantages, Burlington was fortunate in that it was not only the seat of one of the two huge counties created in the Black Hawk Purchase, but territorial capital as well. This was undoubtedly a stimulus to the town in this early period; the sale of public lands in 1838, for example, brought 2,000 men to Burlington.² With a population of 1,200 in 1838, and 1,600 a year later, Burlington was the leading town of the Territory and had already acquired a superior attitude toward younger and smaller communities.

A town on the river could be but a temporary capital, however, and the future of Burlington lay in trade and commerce rather than in political administration. It was a port of entry to the most populous area of the Territory. Immigrants poured into Iowa at Burlington; every steamboat came loaded with settlers, and the Illinois shore reminded observers of an army continually encamped, despite the ferry's efforts to thin its ranks.³ The young town's primary function during the 1830's was to supply the surrounding countryside with goods imported from older areas. In the late thirties her merchants were still importing pork, lard, butter, and bacon from Cincinnati. By 1840, however, a local merchant shipped 5,000 pounds of lard and several thousand pounds of bacon to New England, as well as several lots of beef to the South. The same season a Burlington editor watched scores of flatboats from Iowa, some built and loaded at Burlington, pass down the river.⁴ The Territory was becoming an exporting region.

¹ Albert M. Lea, *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase* (Philadelphia, 1836), 36.

² Louis Pelzer, "Early Burlington," *The Palimpsest*, 15:249 (July, 1934).

³ Burlington *Iowa Patriot*, Oct. 17, 1839.

⁴ Burlington *Iowa Hawk-Eye and Patriot*, Apr. 2, Sept. 19, 1840.

The decade of the 1840's was marked by population growth, economic expansion, and growing rivalry with other towns. South of Burlington, at the southern tip of the Territory, was Keokuk, while to the north were the rival towns of Davenport and Dubuque. Burlington still relied on the river. In 1839 a local editor expressed satisfaction that the legislature was ignoring canals and railroads, which he felt led only to bankruptcy. His opinion was that railroads would not be needed in Iowa for the next twenty-five years, perhaps never. The wise policy was to work for better roads and improved navigation of the Mississippi.⁵ The latter was a source of great frustration to Burlington. Thirty miles down the river were the "Lower Rapids" extending some twelve miles above the town of Keokuk and impassable for large boats during low water. Throughout the 1830's and 1840's Burlington's goal was to see this obstacle cleared. She complained bitterly that her farmers could not compete with those below the Rapids and that many of her staples could not be exported at a profit because of the increased freight costs imposed at Keokuk. Burlington citizens compiled statistics to show that in a single season the \$100,000 in produce exported from Burlington lost 22½ per cent of its value at the Rapids and that the loss to her back country was \$50,000 in a single year.⁶ Long articles were written to demonstrate the practicability of the task of clearing the Rapids from an engineering standpoint, and politicians were praised or damned in proportion to their efforts to secure government aid for the project. Especially galling was the fact that Keokuk was benefiting from this greatest obstacle to Burlington's prosperity. Keokuk was an ambitious young town, advantageously located. Southernmost of the Iowa river towns, it commanded the entrance into the Territory from the south by way of the Mississippi. It also benefited from the Des Moines River which flows from the northwest across Iowa to the southeastern corner of the state, where it joins the Mississippi. This "Gate City" was already tapping the trade of the rich Des Moines Valley, which Burlington coveted, and an intense rivalry grew between the two towns. Burlington was convinced that Keokuk wanted to keep the "Gate" shut, monopolize the trade of the interior, restrict Burlington to a small back area, and watch her wither and perish.

In 1845 considerable enthusiasm developed in Burlington over a pro-

⁵ Burlington *Iowa Territorial Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1849.

⁶ Burlington *Weekly Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 30, Sept. 18, 1845. (Cited hereafter as *Hawk-Eye*.)

posed Memphis Convention of western and southern states which was called to discuss the development of those regions. Surely this great gathering would convince the government that the Rapids must be improved. Public meetings were held in Burlington, and prominent local citizens were chosen to go to Memphis. Augustus Caesar Dodge, influential Democratic politician; William B. Ewing, respected merchant; and James G. Edwards, well-known Whig editor, represented Burlington at the convention. Delegates from nineteen states and territories attended the meeting; John C. Calhoun of South Carolina presided as president, and John Bell of Tennessee and A. C. Dodge of Iowa served as vice-presidents.⁷ The results, however, were negligible, and an embittered Burlington began casting about for other solutions to her problem. St. Louis was severely criticized for her lack of interest in the improvement of the Rapids, and the Burlington *Hawk-Eye* predicted that the Missouri metropolis would lose the trade of the Upper Mississippi to Chicago when that growing city connected the Lakes and the Mississippi by rail. The editor suggested that Burlington herself might one day have a railroad.⁸

By 1847 imports at Burlington amounted to 3,776 tons, while exports totaled over 14,000 tons, chiefly corn, oats, wheat, flour, pork, and barley. Burlington merchants, claiming they had suffered losses of nearly \$160,000 due to the Rapids, increasingly turned to the idea of a possible railroad connection with some line in Illinois.⁹ This idea was hastened by reports of a proposed north-south railroad from Dubuque to Keokuk which would bypass Burlington. The Burlington editors naturally attacked this idea as impracticable. The Chicago and St. Louis markets were compared as to prices to the detriment of the latter. Burlington did not give up hopes for improvement of the Rapids; indeed, she continued to urge such projects and to send delegates to future Rapids conventions, but the seeds of railroad fever had been planted.

While the idea of a railroad to the east was beginning to crystalize, Burlington faced the immediate problem of her trade with the interior. Lacking waterways west, she depended on inadequate roads which became impassable in wet seasons. Impressed with the success of plank roads in the East, a group of prominent businessmen began urging the construction of

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, Nov. 27, 1845.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1846.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1847.

such a road from Burlington to Mount Pleasant, twenty-six miles to the west, the central point from which the surrounding back country sent its goods to Burlington. Plank roads had originated in Russia and came to the United States by way of Canada. They were constructed of long heavy planks which were laid on top of wooden "stringers" which were in turn set into a graded roadbed. This gave a smooth, fast surface over which horses could pull the heaviest loads in excellent time even in wet seasons. Like the eastern turnpikes, the plank roads were toll roads, and the cheapness and speed of construction were thought to be an advantage over the turnpikes. The difficulty and expense of keeping them in good repair, their disappointingly rapid deterioration by rotting, and the avoidance of the payment of tolls by users were to cause their failure, but for a time they seemed a panacea to solve the transportation problem. Introduced in New York in the mid-1840's, "plank road fever" momentarily swept the nation. By 1857 New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland had invested \$10,000,000 in plank roads.¹⁰

The fact that as early as January, 1849, articles began appearing in the Burlington papers describing the advantages of plank roads over macadamized roads and even railroads is indicative of the alertness of the town's citizens in seeking a solution to their transportation dilemma. In January of that year the editor of the Burlington *Hawk-Eye* expressed confidence that the twenty-six miles to Mount Pleasant would be planked and that the road would eventually be extended to the towns of Fairfield and Washington.¹¹ A public meeting in New London stirred up interest in the proposal. H. W. Starr, J. C. Hall, David Hendershott, T. L. Sargent, A. W. Carpenter, J. G. Foote, William Walker, and J. F. Henry were appointed to committees to have a route surveyed, to draw up a charter for a corporation, and to get subscriptions of stock with shares at \$100 each.¹² Farmers were

¹⁰ George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York, 1951), 30-31.

¹¹ *Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 11, 1849.

¹² *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1849. H. W. Starr, a member of the law firm of Grimes and Starr, was the key figure in the plank road movement and a director of the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company. J. C. Hall, well-known Democratic politician and member of the state supreme court in the 1850's, was also a B. & M. director. The other men were local merchants, except J. F. Henry who was a physician. J. G. Foote was a director of both the B. & M and the P. & O. railroads. A. W. Carpenter was a local jeweler and a B. & M. director.

told that every quarter section along the route of the road would increase in value by \$250, and Burlington property owners were warned that if they wished to maintain the town's position as the "commercial emporium" of Iowa they must build the plank road immediately.¹³ Articles of incorporation for the "Burlington and Mount Pleasant Plank Road Company" were adopted at a public meeting in February, and the price of shares reduced to \$50. Fifteen thousand dollars was necessary for the company to become fully organized, and books were opened at Burlington, Middletown, New London, and Mount Pleasant.¹⁴ When subscriptions did not come in as anticipated, the Burlington papers chided the property holders and suggested that perhaps the city should become a stockholder in the company to the amount of \$10,000. The *Gazette* declared that a plank road would be of more importance to the city and to the county than a railroad and that if Burlington acted she could have a population of 10,000 within a short time. Those gold-hungry individuals afflicted with the "California excitement" were advised to stay home and seek the surer profits which the plank road would bring.¹⁵

In March, 1849, the city council discussed the possibility of obtaining a loan of \$5,000 or \$10,000 in order to buy stock in the plank road company.¹⁶ Friends of the road wrote to the local papers declaring there was no risk involved; the earnings of the road would pay the interest on the loan and upon expiration of the loan in ten years the stock owned by the city would be par stock and command in the market the money to repay the loan.¹⁷ A Mr. Sanders of Middletown kept track of traffic passing to

¹³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1849.

¹⁴ Prominent names among the organizers of the company included H. W. Starr, J. L. Corse, J. G. Edwards, Thomas Hedge, Prugh and Cook Company, W. H. Starr, Copp and Parsons Company, F. J. C. Peasley, J. W. Grimes, J. P. Sunderland, A. W. Carpenter, J. S. Schramm, J. F. Henry, J. Adam Funk, W. F. Coolbaugh, Silas Hudson, William Sunderland, J. F. Tallant, J. C. Fletcher, Charles Mason, W. H. Postlewait, J. G. Foote, E. E. Gay, T. L. Sargent, R. S. Adams, G. P. Kreichbaum, and J. G. Lauman. For a copy of the articles of incorporation of the plank road company, with the above names affixed, see *Deed Record Book No. 11* (Recorder's Office, Des Moines County Courthouse, Burlington, Iowa), 605-608. Information regarding the public meeting and the opening of the books is given in the *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 23, 1849.

¹⁵ *Burlington Iowa State Gazette*, Mar. 21, 1849 (cited hereafter as *Gazette*); *Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 18, 1849.

¹⁶ *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 22, 1849.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1849.

Burlington and found it averaged 88 units per day. From this count he deduced that, at twenty-five cents per unit, the road would take in \$8,030 per year or in seven years \$56,210. The cost of the road to Middletown was estimated at \$17,000 with interest for seven years at \$11,900 and expenses for gatekeepers, etc., at \$5,600; hence expenses would be \$34,500, or \$21,710 less than the earnings.¹⁸

Apparently this kind of reasoning was convincing, for the question of the city becoming an investor in the road was put before the people.¹⁹ The local papers swung their support behind such a move, and in April, 1849, an overwhelming 294 votes were cast for a \$10,000 loan proposal to only 46 against.²⁰

At a public meeting in May, designed to whip up enthusiasm for the road, internal improvements were compared to the education of the individual: just as the brightest boy will be outstripped by his less able but better-educated neighbor, so will the most favorably located city lose out if it does not engage in improvements. Cincinnati was cited as an example of a city, less favored by nature than Burlington, which had made tremendous strides by improving its transportation facilities. At this meeting, T. L. Parsons, J. Adam Funk, E. D. Rand, H. B. Ware, and Silas A. Hudson were appointed to a committee to solicit subscriptions to company stock.²¹ Later that month the "Burlington and Mount Pleasant Plank Road Company" was fully organized by the election of F. J. C. Peasley as president. W. F. Coolbaugh was chosen as treasurer, while T. L. Parsons, H. W. Starr, Charles Mason, and T. L. Sargent were elected directors of the company.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1849.

¹⁹ *The Charter with Amendments Thereto and the Revised Ordinances of the City of Burlington* (Burlington, 1871), 113.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 114; *Ordinance Book No. 1, 1835-1852* (Burlington City Hall), 131, 149; *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 12, 1849.

²¹ *Hawk-Eye*, May 10, 1849. Funk, Hudson, Rand, and Ware were all businessmen. Hudson had helped organize the Whig party in the Territory. Rand, a pork packer, became prominent in the Iowa lumber industry and was a director of the Plank Road Co.

²² *Ibid.*, May 31, 1849. Parsons was a merchant and a director of both the Plank Road Company and the B. & M. Peasley was a banker and a B. & M. director. Coolbaugh was a merchant and banker; he was treasurer of the Plank Road Co. and later president of the B. & M. Mason, chief justice of the territorial and state supreme courts and later United States Commissioner of Patents, was president of the P. & O.

Arrangements were made at once to have the road surveyed and the section to Middletown put under contract. On July 4 the company broke ground on the edge of town. The cost of the road was estimated at \$1,300 to \$1,600 per mile; it would last from five to seven years. A meeting in November, 1849, announced that the whole line to Mount Pleasant had been marked out by T. L. Sargent and that the route from New London to Mount Pleasant would require no excavation or filling, with very little necessary from Middletown to New London. A dividend was promised before the next semi-annual meeting.²³ The company advertised for white oak, black oak, honey locust, or walnut planks eight feet (or sixteen feet) by three inches by ten inches and for stringers of the same wood thirteen feet by three inches by four inches, and local sawmills began cutting timber for the road.

The year 1850 was one of great plank road activity. In January one of the largest meetings ever held in Burlington overflowed the courtroom. Its object was to respond to the feeling in southwestern Iowa in favor of a connection with the Mississippi at Burlington by plank road or railroad. James W. Grimes presided, and James Clarke, J. L. Corse, W. H. Starr, J. G. Foote, W. F. Coolbaugh, J. P. Sunderland, and T. L. Parsons, acting as a committee, submitted resolutions that the road to Mount Pleasant was only a link in a chain of roads which was to diverge from that place to the Des Moines River. Keosauqua, Ottumwa, and Fort Des Moines were favored as connecting points. The meeting professed no hostility to the railroad projects being agitated in various parts of the state (although noting that railroads required government aid, which the plank road did not) and said that when the time came when a railroad was necessary it could be built on the plank road, thus making the plank road the commencement of a future railroad. Interest was expressed in getting the Peoria & Oquawka Railroad of Illinois to Burlington and also in a railroad from Burlington to Council Bluffs on the Missouri River. The committee also suggested that the city council submit the question of a second \$10,000 loan to the voters and that the county commissioners consider the legality of subscribing to stock. W. H. Starr, J. G. Foote, W. F. Coolbaugh, James Clarke, William Walker, J. G. Edwards, and William Sunderland were appointed to committees of correspondence and subscription. The meeting closed after selecting twenty dele-

²³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1849.

gates to attend a forthcoming meeting of plank road promoters to be held at Keosauqua.²⁴

Other towns were becoming interested in the plank road pioneering of Burlington. The Ottumwa *Courier* supported the project for a plank road to the Mississippi, suggesting that the road from Burlington to Mount Pleasant be extended to Ottumwa via Fairfield, Libertyville, Ashland, and Agency City.²⁵ A factor in the desire to connect with Burlington was the belief that she would one day have a railroad to Chicago. H. W. Starr and J. G. Foote of Burlington attended a meeting in Ottumwa which adopted resolutions agreeing with the *Courier's* suggestions.²⁶ Such plank road meetings became popular in southern Iowa. In February of 1850 Burlington sent sixty delegates and the Burlington brass band to an eight-county convention in Mount Pleasant. James Clarke was chairman, James W. Grimes was one of its permanent officers, and H. W. Starr addressed the delegates. The convention urged an extension of the Burlington road to Ottumwa, a road from Mount Pleasant across the Skunk River into Keokuk County, and declared that eventually the plank road from Burlington would become a railroad. It also approved the Peoria & Oquawka Railroad, a project which southern Iowa was watching with great interest.²⁷

In the spring of 1850 a second \$10,000 loan was authorized by the voters of Burlington, and there was talk of extending the road to Oskaloosa, with a branch to Brighton.²⁸ James W. Grimes was elected president of the plank road company, with W. F. Coolbaugh as treasurer, and T. L. Parsons, E. D. Rand, J. L. Corse, and J. K. Scott as directors.²⁹ An article in the Fort Des Moines *Star* commented on Burlington's "plank road fever" and said if

²⁴ *Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1850; *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 14, 1850. The Sunderlands were in the milling business. W. H. Starr was a lawyer. Corse, a bookstore proprietor and a director of the Plank Road Co., was the father of J. M. Corse, the hero of Allatoona in the Civil War. Clarke was the editor of the *Gazette*. Grimes, of course, is famous in politics as the father of the Republican party in Iowa and (Senator John Kennedy's *Profiles in Courage* notwithstanding) as the most courageous and influential of the Republican Senators in the trial of President Andrew Johnson. Grimes was president of the Plank Road Co. and the key figure in the P. & O. project.

²⁵ *Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1850; *Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 31, 1850.

²⁶ *Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1850; *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 14, 1850.

²⁷ *Gazette*, Mar. 6, 1850; *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 7, 1850.

²⁸ *Ordinance Book No. 1, 1835-1852*, 149; *Gazette*, Mar. 28, 1850; *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 21, 1850.

²⁹ *Gazette*, June 5, 1850; *Hawk-Eye*, May 30, 1850.

Keokuk did not look out, Burlington would capture the trade of the Des Moines Valley. Anticipating this, the Keokuk *Register* announced that a company had been organized there with a Keokuk and Des Moines Valley plank road in mind. Burlington replied with a meeting at Dodgeville to consider a road north from Burlington to Louisa County to Wapello and Virginia Grove. The Dodgeville meeting, presided over by A. W. Carpenter and addressed by H. W. Starr and David Rorer, passed resolutions in favor of such a road. Three weeks later the Burlington papers reported that the "Burlington and Louisa County Plank Road Company" had drawn up articles of incorporation and that a "Burlington and Toolesboro Plank Road Company" had also been organized to connect Burlington with Toolesboro at the mouth of the Iowa River.³⁰ By the end of 1850 the Mount Pleasant plank road was completed to Middletown, and it was hoped that by the following June the wagons would be able to roll all the way to Mount Pleasant on plank.

The "plank fever" continued to rage unabated throughout 1851. In February a meeting was held in Benton Township to aid the proposed road from Burlington to Virginia Grove. Grimes and Rorer were selected to draft new articles of incorporation, and William Sunderland was appointed to a committee to open books for the company.³¹ The Burlington city council discussed borrowing \$50,000 to invest in plank roads and bridges, and delegates were sent to Illinois, where a "Burlington and Warren Plank Road Company" was organized with Luke Palmer and T. D. Crocker on its board.³² This road was to run across the bottoms opposite Burlington and facilitate bringing the valuable Illinois trade to the river. In Fairfield a "Fairfield and Mount Pleasant Plank Road Company" was established, and Burlington citizens gave encouragement to the president of the company when he came to their town seeking subscriptions.³³

Burlington editors commented on the activity in the interior, where they saw branches springing up everywhere, all eager to connect with Burlington.

³⁰ The Des Moines and Keokuk editorials were reprinted in the *Hawk-Eye*, Nov. 14, 1850. The Dodgeville meeting and the reports of new road companies were cited in the *Gazette*, Sept. 4, Oct. 9, 10, 30, 1850; *Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 5, 31, 1850. David Rorer was a lawyer of state-wide reputation. He drew up the B. & M. charter and later became a C. B. & Q. lawyer.

³¹ *Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1851; *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 6, 1851.

³² *Gazette*, Feb. 12, Mar. 12, 1851; *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 13, Mar. 13, 1851.

³³ *Gazette*, Mar. 19, 1851; *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 24, 1851.

The towns of Toolesboro and Deedsville had initiated movements to link with the Burlington roads. Lowell organized a Burlington and Lowell road which was to bridge the Skunk River, and a meeting at Lowell urged the citizens of Danville, Baltimore, Jackson, Salem, Pleasant Ridge, and Marion townships to hold similar meetings. A "Mount Pleasant, Trenton, Deedsville and Brighton Plank Road and Bridge Company" was formed, and Burlington invested \$2,000 in the venture. Grimes, Starr, and Coolbaugh were appointed commissioners to open books and solicit subscriptions for a "Brighton and Richland Plank Road Company."³⁴ The voters of Burlington approved by a 90 per cent majority a loan of \$10,000 for the Virginia Grove road and \$5,000 for bridging Skunk River.³⁵

The St. Louis papers watched with admiration the whirlwind of activity in Burlington, noting her growth of "astonishing rapidity" and the large scale of her internal improvements. A brilliant future was predicted for her, when, flanked on all sides by plank roads and commanding the trade of the interior, she was to become the depot for one of the richest regions of the Northwest. Impressed by the new spirit and prosperity of the young city, "a few years ago a trading post," the *Missouri Republican* urged St. Louis to follow Burlington's example.³⁶ The Burlington editors were grateful for the publicity which they felt was well deserved in view of the liabilities which their citizens had cheerfully incurred.

A willingness to increase these liabilities was demonstrated by a petition presented to the city council asking the city to subscribe to the Burlington and Warren road in Illinois which was to bring to Burlington all the immigrants heading for southeastern Iowa as well as the trade of Illinois. The city council approved, and at a special election in June of 1851 a large majority voted in favor of a \$5,000 loan by the city to the Warren road.³⁷ At the same time, interest was being shown in Illinois for a plank road from Springfield to Burlington.

³⁴ These developments were reported in the *Gazette*, Feb. 12, 26, Mar. 12, Apr. 23, 1851; *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 24, 1851; *Ordinance Book No. 1, 1837-1855* (Burlington City Hall), 188; *Charter With Amendments* . . . , 122.

³⁵ *Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1851; *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 6, 1851; *Charter With Amendments* . . . , 119, 122; *Ordinance Book No. 1, 1835-1852*, 181, 188.

³⁶ *Hawk-Eye*, May 15, 1851.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, May 15, June 5, 1851; *Gazette*, June 4, 1851; *Charter With Amendments* . . . , 117; *Ordinance Book No. 1, 1835-1852*, 161, 180; *Journal of the City Council, 1850-1853* (Burlington City Hall), 168.

Like the cholera which afflicted Burlington in the same years, the plank fever was intense and brief. It began in 1849; 1851 was its climactic and indeed its final year. In that year Burlington kept its attention on the steady progress of the Mount Pleasant road. In May readers were treated to a description of a local editor's ride to Middletown in Iowa's first "Omnibus" at the respectable rate of eight miles per hour.³⁸ By the end of the year the road to Mount Pleasant was finished, and a happy celebration was held in Mount Pleasant in December commemorating the successful completion of "the first major public improvement West of the Mississippi."³⁹ In a sense, it was an anticlimax. The primary task was finished, and the people were proud and satisfied with their work. But brief as the period had been, new forces had arisen to divert attention from plank roads to a new and more exciting mode of transportation.

Even as the plank road to Mount Pleasant was completed, Burlington turned with enthusiasm to railroad promotion. As early as the Memphis Convention of 1845, Burlington had observed the projects to connect the Lakes and the Mississippi and had at that time warned St. Louis that she was to suffer for not cooperating in the Rapids improvement. The work of Chicago and Galena promoters had awakened Burlington's interest in railroads. In the fall of 1847 half a million dollars had been subscribed to this road; in two years Burlington would be as close to Chicago as to St. Louis.⁴⁰ A few months later the citizens of southern Iowa were urged to take steps to get a railroad connection from Burlington to intersect the Illinois and Michigan Canal and later the Michigan Central Railroad to the Atlantic. Eastern capitalists would take stock in such a venture, they were told. The Keokuk Rapids were used as an argument for the eastern connection, and the possibility of a railroad from the Des Moines Valley to Burlington and eastern markets was suggested.⁴¹ The "utopian scheme" of a proposed Dubuque-to-Keokuk road was dismissed as foolish in a time when east-west roads were needed. The Dubuque-Keokuk road was characterized as an excessively expensive route crossing innumerable rivers and traversing seven counties which averaged only twelve persons per square mile.⁴² Nevertheless, the efforts of Keokuk, Davenport, and other towns worried Burlington.

³⁸ *Hawk-Eye*, May 29, 1851.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1851.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1847.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 27, 1848.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1848.

Until late in 1849 Burlington could do little but stir up interest in railroads and talk bravely about the dreadful fate Keokuk would suffer when eastern roads touched Iowa above the Rapids. A specific focus was lacking until Peoria and Oquawka proposed a line between their towns in Illinois. This caused an immediate reaction in Burlington. The local papers applauded the idea and suggested that eastern capital could be attracted only if the road were extended to Burlington, where it could tap the best part of the state. James W. Grimes, Evan Evans, J. P. Sunderland, Henry Ware, J. G. Edwards, Levi Hager, William Ewing, Dr. Ransom, James Clarke, John Hollingsworth, and John Armstrong were appointed delegates to get the Peoria road to build to the Mississippi opposite Burlington.⁴³ Unfortunately, thin ice on the river prevented the trip to Knoxville. The following month, however, Burlington held its plank and railroad meeting. While most concerned with the plank road to Mount Pleasant, this meeting expressed "deep interest" in the Peoria railroad, suggested that the plank road could be the basis for a future railroad west, and declared its willingness to join with Keosauqua in petitioning Congress for a land grant to aid a Burlington to Council Bluffs railroad.⁴⁴ (Keosauqua had previously sent out a circular to the towns of Illinois and southeastern Iowa, urging cooperation in asking Congress for a grant of land to build a railroad from Burlington via Mount Pleasant, Keosauqua, Bloomfield, and Centerville on the old Mormon Trail to Council Bluffs.) The plank and railroad convention was followed by railroad meetings at Keosauqua, dominated by H. W. Starr, J. L. Corse, and J. F. Abrahams, and at Monmouth, Illinois, with Grimes, Rorer, Coolbaugh, and Dr. J. F. Henry attending.⁴⁵

Railroad promotion was catching on in Iowa. Ottumwa's interest in connecting with the plank road at Mount Pleasant was due in part to the belief that a railroad from Peoria would extend to Burlington. Promoters of the Dubuque and Keokuk road sent two leading citizens to Congress in behalf of their road, and Burlington showed some concern lest all the land granted might be given to this company.⁴⁶ Davenport as well as Keokuk came under

⁴³ *Gazette*, Dec. 19, 1849; *Hawk-Eye*, Nov. 1, Dec. 13, 20, 1849.

⁴⁴ *Hawk-Eye*, Jan. 31, 1850; *Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1850.

⁴⁵ *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 21, 1850; *Gazette*, Feb. 20, 1850. J. F. Abrahams owned a bookstore in Burlington and served as secretary of the B. & M.

⁴⁶ *Hawkeye*, Jan. 31, 1850; *Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1850.

editorial fire from Burlington. The Davenport papers, in response to a query from Iowa City, had replied that as soon as they completed a road to connect the Mississippi with the East, they would take all the stock necessary for a road to Iowa City. The *Hawk-Eye* called the Iowa City project "one of the small humbugs of the day" and with heavy sarcasm said that doubtless Davenport would take all the railroads in the country under her special care and patronage.⁴⁷

In February, 1851, the editors at Burlington reported that the Illinois House of Representatives had amended the act incorporating the Peoria & Oquawka Railroad to allow a branch to come to Burlington. They hoped, said the editors, within two years to "hear the iron horse opposite us."⁴⁸ This was the first indication that Burlington would really get the connection with Illinois. A public meeting met immediately and after being addressed by Grimes, Starr, and Rorer recommended that the city invest \$75,000 in the Peoria road.⁴⁹ This made a great impression on the interior. The *Fairfield Ledger* declared that "the enterprise of [Burlington's] citizens is proverbial," and that Fairfield had better deal with her instead of Keokuk, where "they stand with their hands in pockets waiting for the railroad to be built to their door."⁵⁰ Ottumwa, admiring the "sleepless vigilance [sic], untiring perseverance, liberality and enterprise of [Burlington's] businessmen," which would make her the "Emporium of Iowa," advised Keokuk to follow her example before it was too late.⁵¹ The people of Burlington approved the \$75,000 loan by a vote of 598 to 46, and in April, 1851, books of the P. & O. Railroad were opened in Illinois and in the office of Grimes and Starr in Burlington.⁵² Grimes and Starr were among the many prominent plank road people who were also leaders in the railroad movement. By May 22 a subscription committee reported that between \$40,000 and \$50,000 had been raised. A week later the figure had reached over \$79,000 by individual subscription. Among the heavy subscribers were H. W. Starr, Grimes, F. J. C.

⁴⁷ *Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 10, 1850.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1851; *Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1851.

⁴⁹ *Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1851.

⁵⁰ Reprinted in *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 13, 1851.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1851.

⁵² *Ordinance Book No. 1, 1837-1855*, 183; *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 6, Apr. 3, 1851; *Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1851. For an enthusiastic letter from Grimes to his father describing the "great railroad and plank fever" in Burlington, see William Salter, *Life of James W. Grimes* (New York, 1876), 30.

Peasley, Luke Palmer, E. D. Rand, A. C. Dodge, W. F. Coolbaugh, Charles Mason, A. W. Carpenter, William Ewing, J. S. Schramm, Dr. Ransom, David Rorer, Lyman Cook, Thomas Hedge, Enos Lowe, and John David, all investing from \$500 to \$2,000. More impressive is the fact that over 150 men subscribed in Burlington.⁵³ Keokuk congratulated Burlington and, referring to the low bottom land opposite her, said she was fortunate that about seven miles of the route could be run by steamboat. To this rather good hit the Burlington editor could only admit that the water had indeed reached five miles on the contemplated route and suggest that this providentially showed them how high to build the road.⁵⁴

Once secure in the belief that a branch of the P. & O. Railroad would come to Burlington, the attractive idea soon arose that Burlington should replace Oquawka as the main western terminus of the road. This was given formal expression when a railroad meeting, held in Burlington on May 7, 1851, resolved that the road should proceed in a straight line from Monmouth to Burlington.⁵⁵ When information arrived a week later that Henderson County (Oquawka) had rejected a \$50,000 loan to the road, this attitude was strengthened. A short time later, Grimes, Dodge, Corse, and Mason returned from a P. & O. meeting in Knoxville with the encouraging news that the road would be built directly from Monmouth to Burlington. Grimes and Mason were elected directors at that meeting.⁵⁶ Oquawka objected to this plan to build to Burlington first and leave the main trunk to Oquawka until later. Yet, \$155,000 had been raised at Burlington, while Oquawka and Henderson County had contributed nothing. In their corporate capacity, Burlington had loaned \$75,000, Peoria \$75,000, and Warren County \$50,000 to the road. Individual subscriptions totaled \$80,000 at Burlington, \$32,000 at Peoria, \$22,000 at Farmington, \$40,000 in Warren County, and \$41,000 in Knox County. A total of \$415,00 had been raised for the P. & O. in Illinois and Iowa.⁵⁷

Despite the valiant work by Burlington, a call went out from the company

⁵³ *Hawk-Eye*, May 22, 29, 1851; *Gazette*, May 28, 1851. Schramm, Hedge, David, and Cook were merchants. Lowe was a local physician. Cook and Hedge were B. & M. directors.

⁵⁴ *Hawk-Eye*, June 12, 1851.

⁵⁵ *Gazette*, May 7, 1851.

⁵⁶ *Hawk-Eye*, June 26, 1851; *Gazette*, June 25, 1851.

⁵⁷ *Hawk-Eye*, June 26, 1851; *Gazette*, May 28, 1851.

for more subscriptions. The president declared an additional \$100,000 was needed before work could begin, and Grimes pledged that Burlington would raise another \$25,000.⁵⁸ Apprehension was allayed when the "glorious news" arrived that fifty miles of road from Burlington to Peoria had been put under contract. Grimes and Mason brought the news back from a meeting of the directors of the P. & O., and at a mass meeting at the Methodist church the factual report of the two directors was received with roars of approval which "the most brilliant oratory could not have elicited."⁵⁹ The *Hawk-Eye* proclaimed, "this forever fixes the destiny of Burlington and leaves no doubt as to the future Commercial Metropolis of Iowa."⁶⁰ By December of 1851 contracts for the entire road were closed, the route located, and grading begun.

As work progressed with painful slowness on the eastern and western divisions of the road it became increasingly clear that for Burlington the real objective was no longer Peoria. The emergence of a Chicago to Quincy line which was to cross the P. & O. forty-five miles east of Burlington turned Burlington toward Chicago via Galesburg rather than Peoria. Late in 1852 Judge Charles Mason reported that Burlington would reach Galesburg and intersect the Central Military Tract road (to Chicago) in 1853.⁶¹ In June of 1853 the stockholders of the P. & O. met and arranged for a connection with the Central Military Tract road at Galesburg and for a road from Peoria to Logansport, Indiana. The Burlington papers predicted travel to the Atlantic via Chicago in six months and by way of Peoria in one year.⁶² By December, 1853, the *Gazette* editor had advanced the Galesburg deadline to May of 1854; he insisted however that the road was progressing well and described his ride on the locomotive "Burlington" at thirty miles per hour.⁶³ The ride must have been of short duration, for a month later the locomotive was running only five miles. In March, 1854, J. G. Foote

⁵⁸ *Hawk-Eye*, Sept. 4, 1851; *Gazette*, Sept. 3, 1851.

⁵⁹ *Gazette*, Oct. 8, 1851.

⁶⁰ *Hawk-Eye*, Oct. 9, 1851.

⁶¹ *Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1852. Burlington's shift from Peoria to Chicago is an episode in the larger drama of the creation of the C. B. & Q. system by the Michigan Central group; the P. & O. was absorbed, as were several Illinois lines, by the eastern company. Richard Overton expertly pieces the story together in his *Burlington West* (Cambridge, 1941).

⁶² *Gazette*, June 22, 1853.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1853.

returned from a directors' meeting in Peoria and reported that the "feeling of jealousy" between the two ends of the line had been resolved and that there was now every disposition to favor the work at the western end and to furnish all the materials to complete the road to Galesburg.⁶⁴ By June only twelve miles had been completed, and at the end of the year there were still ten miles of "staging" necessary on the line near Monmouth. By this time, however, the end was in sight, and preparations for a railroad celebration were begun. On March 1, 1855, the *Gazette* editor took another trip by locomotive. This time he could see another engine working its way west assisted by a hundred Irishmen.⁶⁵ A week later the road was completed, and Burlington was in direct connection with Chicago.

The Keokuk papers, continuing their steady flow of editorial venom, observed that a "ricketty [sic] branch of a Railroad has been constructed into the swamps opposite Burlington," and that it was unlikely that an accessible terminus could be had within seven miles of the city half the time.⁶⁶ The *Gazette*, although noting that any rise in the Mississippi that would stop cars seven miles from Burlington would make the "rats" leave their holes as high up as Second Street in Keokuk, preferred to publicize the "immense change" in business caused by the railroad.⁶⁷ The editor urged a public ceremony to advertise the city and its road, and in June, 1855, a large Illinois delegation arrived (from Chicago not Peoria) to share Burlington's first railroad celebration.

Despite the plank road to Mount Pleasant, many in Burlington realized the need for a railroad into the interior, one which would connect with the road to Peoria and eastern markets. Often when discussing the Peoria road this prospect was mentioned. The promotion of railroads within Iowa was very competitive. The Dubuque and Keokuk road was especially resented in Burlington; it was considered a "rope with which to strangle the river towns between these points."⁶⁸ The formation of a Davenport road designed to run westward to Iowa City and eventually to the Missouri River was also a challenge to Burlington.

Even as the last miles of the road to Mount Pleasant were being planked,

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1854.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 7, 1855.

⁶⁶ Reprinted in *ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1855.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, May 2, 1855.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1853.

the desire for a railroad of their own was translated into action by leading businessmen in Burlington. By January, 1852, they were ready for formal incorporation of the "Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company," the object of which was "to construct and use a Railroad extending from Burlington to the most eligible point on the Missouri River."⁶⁹ Their immediate goal, however, was to build to some point on the Des Moines River and thereby capture the trade of the Des Moines Valley.

Building a plank road was one thing; a railroad was quite another. The latter was enormously expensive to construct. The towns and counties along the route would contribute, of course, but the real solution in financing the road, it was felt, lay in a large congressional land grant to the company. Unfortunately, the proposed east-west roads at Davenport and Dubuque had the jump on the other roads, and it was necessary to persuade the state legislature to change its policy favoring grants only to these two lines. For a year Burlington lobbied and propagandized incessantly against the "state policy" favoring the two roads, demanding equal favors to all and equating her own interests with those of the whole state.⁷⁰ In the end, the Burlington position prevailed, as Grimes led the fight in the Iowa legislature which committed that body to four east-west lines, of which Burlington was one.⁷¹ The Burlington papers congratulated themselves for annihilating in twelve months the old policy which would have "cut her off from the rest of the state" and trumpeted their victory over the "designing speculators and . . . political hacks" who had sponsored the "Ram's Horn" road between Keokuk and Dubuque.⁷²

⁶⁹ Most active among the B. & M. incorporators were: J. F. Tallant, Charles Mason, William Endsley, David Rorer, James W. Woods, J. C. Hall, Lyman Cook, William Sunderland, H. W. Starr, J. P. Sunderland, G. P. Kreichbaum, A. W. Carpenter, W. F. Coolbaugh, George Frazee, F. J. C. Peasley, J. F. Abrahams, J. Copp, T. L. Parsons, J. A. Funk, R. S. Adams, J. Pierson, T. D. Crocker, J. G. Foote, Levi Hager, J. C. Fletcher, Thomas Hedge, J. M. Swan, J. G. Law, D. Denise, J. G. Lauman, and J. S. Schramm. For a complete list of the original incorporators, see *Mortgage Book No. 5* (Recorder's Office, Des Moines County Courthouse, Burlington, Iowa), 429; W. W. Baldwin, *Corporate History of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad* (Chicago, 1921), 129; W. W. Baldwin (comp.), *Documentary History of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad* (3 vols., Chicago, 1928-1929), 2:4-7.

⁷⁰ *Gazette*, July 7, Aug. 4, Nov. 24, 1852.

⁷¹ Mildred Throne, "The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad in Iowa," *The Palimpsest*, 33:8 (January, 1952).

⁷² *Burlington Weekly Telegraph*, Jan. 15, Mar. 12, 1853. (Cited hereafter as *Telegraph*.)

Nothing was accomplished during this interlude, and further disappointments were in store for the B. & M. promoters. For one thing, there was serious doubt as to the legality of counties taking stock in railroad ventures. A bill before the legislature authorizing such action failed, and Governor Stephen Hempstead refused to call a special session to clarify the issue.⁷³ Also, despite the victory regarding the Iowa legislature's recommendations to Congress concerning land grants, Congress proved a disappointment. Other roads were no more satisfied with the four roads recommended than Burlington had been with the earlier arrangement. The B. & M. promoters watched impatiently as various land bills came before Congress, as more and more roads sought to share in a land grant. At one point Representative John Letcher of Virginia, having found more than one hundred such bills on the docket, felt compelled to protest against this unseemly rush to the public trough. Representative Bernhart Henn of Iowa explained that actually many of the applications were for the same road; that he, for example, had filed twenty for one road. Letcher retorted that his friend, Representative Williamson R. W. Cobb, had admitted that Alabama had no less than five distinct grants before the House and asked how many there were from Iowa. When informed that Iowa had in fact submitted petitions for fourteen different roads, the gentleman from Virginia asked, "Mr. Speaker, is that not modest for a young state! [Laughter] No more than fourteen!"⁷⁴ The lobbying activities carried on by this multiplicity of roads made it difficult for any land bill to get through Congress.

Finally, as 1853 wore on, the B. & M. people adopted the attitude that it was useless to depend on Congress and determined to go ahead with the road.⁷⁵ The towns in the interior which had participated in Burlington's plank road project were eager to share in the benefits which the railroad would bring. In March, 1853, the Fairfield *Iowa Sentinel* declared that although at first they were undecided between Keokuk and Burlington, they had determined to aid the Burlington railroad. (The *Gazette* rather un-

⁷³ *Gazette*, Mar. 23, Apr. 27, June 29, July 6, 1853; *Telegraph*, Apr. 2, 30, May 21, June 4, 1853. For a discussion of the difficulties involved in the taking of stock by counties and cities, see Earl S. Beard, "Local Aid to Railroads in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:1-35 (January, 1952). The B. & M. backers eventually decided to ignore the disputed legality of such investments and proceed with the road in the hope that the issue would be favorably resolved in the interim.

⁷⁴ *Gazette*, Mar. 8, 1854.

⁷⁵ *Telegraph*, Mar. 26, Apr. 30, 1853.

graciously responded that Fairfield had at last found out on which side its bread was buttered.)⁷⁶ A railroad convention held at Fairfield in April of 1853, with Des Moines, Henry, Jefferson, Wapello, Decatur, and Marion counties represented, resolved that the wants of the country required a railroad from Burlington to the Missouri River, that the legislature should legalize counties taking stock, and that county judges should appropriate funds to survey possible routes.⁷⁷ In the same month, railroad meetings at Salem, Agency City, Keosauqua, and West Point, declaring their desire to be on such a route, offered financial aid.⁷⁸

Amid the flush of enthusiasm concerning the new road west, a prophetic sobering note was sounded in the local papers regarding finances. The city's indebtedness on bonds was said to be \$112,000 with interest at \$8,880 plus city script at \$10,000. Revenue from licenses, wharfage, etc. amounted to \$2,880, leaving a balance of \$16,000 to be paid by taxation. The city assessment was \$1,500,000 which at the maximum of one per cent yielded \$15,000 in taxes; minus delinquents, it meant about \$11,000. Hence the editor warned, even with maximum taxation, there existed a deficit of about \$4,000. The railroad men felt that once in operation the road would pay for itself and that the city assessment would greatly increase so that a tax of one mill on the dollar would be sufficient. They had asked for a loan of \$6,000 to meet the interest on railroad bonds. The *Gazette* said that since the interest came due before provision could be made to meet it by taxation, perhaps the loan was necessary, but expressed the hope that it would not be repeated. Declaring that in times of railroad excitement caution was needed, the editor stated that he did not condemn the policy of the city taking railroad stock as it had, but urged that after this loan it would be better to face liabilities manfully and not threaten the future by contracting more debts.⁷⁹ With predictions of a population of 10,000 in five years, railroad meetings throughout southern Iowa endorsing the B. & M. road, and even eastern papers declaring that the Burlington railroad would be the course of a great trunk Pacific railroad, such cautious advice was unusual — and unheeded.

The cooperation of friends along the route was not enough to finance

⁷⁶ *Gazette*, Mar. 16, 1853.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 20, 1853.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 20, 1853.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1853.

the road, and the land grant had not been secured. Therefore, logically and indeed inevitably, the company sought eastern aid in financing the B. & M. The Michigan Central people agreed to build the road, with the condition that \$600,000 would be subscribed in Iowa, \$450,000 by counties, and \$150,000 by private individuals.⁸⁰ In this way the road could be built to the Des Moines River.

The quota for Des Moines County was \$150,000, and in July of 1853 the county judge issued a proclamation calling on the people to decide whether or not to take the stock.⁸¹ A meeting hastily called in Burlington recommended that Des Moines, Henry, Jefferson, and Wapello counties vote for the loans. The meeting had also declared that John W. Brooks of Detroit and others were ready to put "millions" in the road but that, knowing of the prejudice which existed everywhere against monopolies, they would not be willing unless the people were with them.⁸² Grimes, Rorer, Browning, Hall, and others spoke throughout the county for the loan. A meeting that summer reported that the \$450,000 had been taken by the counties and that \$50,000 in private subscriptions was left to be taken in Des Moines County.⁸³ In July, John W. Brooks was elected president of the company and his townsman, James F. Joy, became a director; thus began a process of gradually increasing control of the B. & M. by eastern influences.⁸⁴ The same month Henry Thielson and a band of engineers of the Michigan Central arrived in Burlington to begin surveying. In August, 1853, the Michigan Central applied to the city council for a portion of submerged land on the edge of the river, proposing to spend \$1,500,000 reclaiming it from the river and erecting depots, warehouses, and shops to make Burlington the point of manufacture and supply for the needs of the B. & M. Railroad, the Central Military Tract in Illinois, and the Lyons & Missouri River road. The city leased the ground to the company for ninety-nine years on condition that the company raise the ground, locate their depot there, and begin work on the B. & M. Railroad within one

⁸⁰ *Telegraph*, July 9, 1853; *Gazette*, Sept. 21, 1853.

⁸¹ *Telegraph*, July 9, 1853; *Gazette*, July 6, 1853.

⁸² *Gazette*, July 13, 1853.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1853.

⁸⁴ *Telegraph*, July 9, 1853; *Gazette*, July 6, 1853. The B. & M., like the P. & O., soon lost its local character and was swallowed up by the powerful C. B. & Q. interests.

year.⁸⁵ This news convinced Burlington that she was to be the Queen City of the Upper Mississippi. In December the *Gazette* optimistically reported that Brooks of Detroit was expected shortly to arrange for the speedy completion of the road.⁸⁶ In the spring of 1854 a meeting of the board of directors decided that the road was to run from Burlington through Middletown, New London, Mount Pleasant, and Fairfield, to Agency City.⁸⁷ Later Ottumwa was added. The *Gazette* said the "agony is over." The western road was located, in May the contracts for the first 75 miles were advertised, and the work began.⁸⁸

The agony was not over, but Burlington had the beginning of her railroad to the Des Moines Valley. The prevailing climate of opinion in Burlington during the years described was one of optimism and urgency. The key to the future lay in the expansion of internal improvements. It is difficult adequately to convey the spirit of grandiose expectation with which the town regarded its projects, nor the concomitant anxiety that other towns might somehow outstrip Burlington in the competition. Improvement of the Rapids, the plank road, the railroad, each in turn was to make Burlington the St. Louis or the Cincinnati of the Upper Mississippi, and they could do the same for others if the citizens did not support such undertakings.

The financing of such programs was an acute problem. Capital was always lacking in young areas, and Burlington, a town of only a few thousand people, had to strain every nerve to maintain the race. When possible, money was raised by private subscription, but when necessary the city subscribed in its corporate capacity, borrowing on its future and incurring a sizeable indebtedness. While proud of their local efforts, aid from the government was accepted and even demanded; there was no revulsion against internal improvements at federal expense from Whigs or Democrats in Burlington. This is not to say that partisan politics were not involved in the transportation schemes, but political criticism was usually directed against parties for not aiding them vigorously enough.⁸⁹ Also, despite a strong

⁸⁵ *Telegraph*, Aug. 13, 1853; *Gazette*, Aug. 10, 1853.

⁸⁶ *Gazette*, Dec. 7, 1853.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1854; *Telegraph*, Mar. 25, 1854.

⁸⁸ *Corporate History of the C. B. & Q.*, 30; *Gazette*, Mar. 29, Apr. 26, 1854; *Telegraph*, Mar. 25, 1854.

⁸⁹ David Sparks describes the relationship of internal improvements and politics in Iowa in "The Decline of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1850-1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:1-30 (January, 1955).

tradition of suspicion against corporations, banking, and monopoly in Iowa, aid from "eastern capitalists" was eagerly sought. Nevertheless, the primary responsibility for success or failure rested with the people at the local level. In these early years there was apparently only one way to deal with a public question, whether it was internal improvements, a cholera epidemic, a lecture series, or organizing a charitable society. Standard procedure was to call a public meeting, adopt and publicize resolutions, and appoint committees to carry out the work at hand. From the newspapers of the time one gets the impression that a chief source of diversion and entertainment came from attending public meetings.

A well-defined, cohesive, and rather sizeable group of merchants and professional men spearheaded every project with public ramifications. With an almost monotonous regularity the same names appear in connection with innumerable Rapids, plank road, and railroad events. There were merchants such as J. F. Abrahams, R. S. Adams, A. W. Carpenter, Lyman Cook, W. F. Coolbaugh, J. Copp, J. L. Corse, Evan Evans, J. C. Fletcher, J. G. Foote, J. Adam Funk, E. E. Gay, Levi Hager, Thomas Hedge, Silas Hudson, G. P. Kriechbaum, J. G. Lauman, Luke Palmer, T. L. Parsons, W. H. Postlewait, E. D. Rand, T. L. Sargent, J. S. Schramm, J. P. Sunderland, William Sunderland, J. F. Tallant, William Walker, and Henry B. Ware. M. D. Browning, T. D. Crocker, A. C. Dodge, George Frazee, James W. Grimes, J. C. Hall, Charles Mason, David Rorer, H. W. Starr, W. H. Starr, J. P. Wightman, and James Woods were lawyers. J. F. Henry, Enos Lowe, and S. S. Ransom were doctors, and James Clarke and J. G. Edwards were editors. F. J. C. Peasley was a financier, and Henry Moore was a building contractor.

Possessed of imagination and courage, these men led the way. They invested in transportation projects, but their primary contribution was more significant than the money they risked. Their chief role was a promotional and educational one. They sacrificed large amounts of their time to put their objectives across. They organized and managed meetings, they served on committees, they incorporated companies, they attended distant conventions, they scoured the countryside pleading, cajoling, threatening, and opening vistas of a great future to the farmers and townspeople of southern Iowa. An examination of such a group would be a fascinating study in leadership in itself.

There is enough data available concerning most of these leaders to justify

drawing a tentative composite portrait of the group. The average member was a surprisingly young man; in 1850 he was probably still in his late thirties. Despite his youth he had been a resident of Burlington for some ten or eleven years, a long time considering the life of the town. There was an equal chance that he came from New England, the mid-Atlantic states, or the South, with New England holding a slight edge. He was most likely to be a merchant, although lawyers were very active in his group also.⁹⁰ Unlike his modern counterpart of one hundred years later, he was truly a "self-made" man; there had been no niche waiting for him in his father's (or father-in-law's) business when he came to Burlington. He had probably begun by clerking in a store, saved his money, gone into business for himself, and succeeded — all in a decade. He was a Democrat or a Whig (this group was equally divided politically) and active in local and state politics.

It would be naive to suppose that these men were not motivated by self-interest, but one receives the favorable impression that they thought not in terms of immediate returns on their investment *per se*, but rather of a long-range program. They were working for their town and their region; this in turn would benefit them — but it would also benefit everyone else. They were not thinking of a safe return on their money but rather of visions of a metropolis of the future which they were creating. It was a great competition in which they were engaged, and they exhibited a keen thirst for the game. It led them to incredible notions which never materialized for their town. But if Burlington did not become a St. Louis, neither did it remain an Oquawka, and this is largely due to the efforts of those who early saw the need for transportation improvements and worked indefatigably to convince the community of their necessity. Largely to them goes the credit for the benefits, and the burdens, which such projects brought. It should be reiterated that their experience was not an isolated one. They were but typical of similar groups in countless other communities. They, and others like them elsewhere, were the first victims and subsequent carriers of the "internal improvements fever."

⁹⁰ Of the forty-seven leaders listed above, well over 50 per cent were merchants, about 25 per cent were lawyers, and the rest were scattered among other professions — editors, doctors, contractors, etc.

DOCUMENT

ERASTUS B. SOPER'S HISTORY OF COMPANY D, 12TH IOWA INFANTRY, 1861-1866

*Edited by Mildred Throne**

Part I

Some historians look askance at reminiscences of the Civil War written long after the event, considering them over-romanticized, inaccurate records. On the other hand, diaries written in the field are often sketchy and colorless, giving the reader no real picture of the life of the soldier in the ranks. Letters written in moments of leisure are probably the best source material for the Civil War historian who wants to know what the soldier did and thought. However, occasionally reminiscences or histories of regiments, written long after the war, but based on the writer's diaries or letters, are able to re-create for the reader the highlights of the long and dreary years of marching, camping, and fighting, if written with simplicity and sincerity. Such an account of one company of one Iowa regiment was prepared, between the years 1885 and 1903, by Erastus B. Soper, then a lawyer and banker in Emmetsburg, Iowa. He based his account on his own letters to friends; on the diary of Byron Plymton Zuver, originally of Mason City, but after the war a farmer in Nebraska; and on letters and memoranda prepared for him by Edwin A. Buttolph of Cedar Rapids, a private of Company D who was twice a prisoner of the Confederates.¹

Soper had planned to publish his history of Company D, but the publication of the "official" history of the Regiment in 1903² made it "advisable

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¹ Information on the later careers of Soper, Zuver, and Buttolph was obtained from a roster of the members of the regiment in 1900, included in the Soper manuscript. For their war records, see *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 1:77; 2:428, 525, 550. (Hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*). Soper had served in the 1st Iowa (the three-months regiment) and had been mustered out on Aug. 21, 1861. One month later he re-enlisted as Second Sergeant of Company D, 12th Iowa. On Apr. 6, 1863, he was promoted to 2nd Lieut.; on March 24, 1863, to 1st Lieut.; on Mar. 12, 1864 to Captain.

² Major David W. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment, Iowa*

to abandon" the idea. Instead, Soper had the entire manuscript typed on legal-sized paper and bound in a leather cover. His history is here reproduced just as written, except for correction of obvious typographical errors and some elimination of the excess punctuation, typical of the time in which it was written.

This manuscript, now the property of Soper's son, Harland Soper of Emmetsburg, Iowa, was loaned to the Society. With Harland Soper's kind permission, the bulk of the manuscript will be published in succeeding issues of the JOURNAL.

ORGANIZATION

This Company was recruited at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, between September 20th and October 15th, 1861.

It was composed almost entirely of young men ranging from sixteen to twenty-five years of age. Of the ninety-eight men of which the Company consisted, when mustered in, only five or six were married at the time of their enlistment; and nearly all had been reared on farms. Iowa was then a frontier State. All were pioneers, the sons of the early settlers, enured to the privations incident to pioneer life, and full of the vigor and push of the West; combined with this was the lofty spirit of patriotism, and the hatred of slavery and border ruffianism, born of moral instincts, and strengthened and intensified by the outrages perpetrated by the propagators of slavery during the Kansas-Nebraska troubles. A number of them had dropped everything, and had enlisted in Co. "K" of the 1st Regiment Iowa Infantry in response to President Lincoln's first call for 75,000 men, and had hastened to the front and valiantly served their country more than the stipulated time, and returning to their homes had been received as heroes. Battles had been fought. The armies of the great North had received blow after blow. Mulligan had surrendered at Lexington, and the Rebels were crossing the Missouri River in the West, and in the East Washington was menaced. The President had called for 300,000 more volunteers. Now Companies and Regiments were being formed every week. Who, once having felt the thrills and emotions of the soldier's heart as he marched to the inspiring strain of the martial music could remain quietly at home?

Veteran Volunteer Infantry . . . (Evanston [?], Ill., 1903). Reed, who enlisted as a private in Co. C, 12th Iowa, rose to the rank of major of the regiment, Nov. 21, 1865. After the war he studied law and was county recorder of Allamakee County for a number of years. In 1891 he moved to Chicago; in 1895 he was appointed secretary and historian of Shiloh National Military Park. *Ibid.*, 250-51.

Thomas Z. Cook and John H. Stibbs, who had been respectively the Captain and Orderly Sergeant of Company "K," 1st Iowa Infantry, on September 20th, 1861, set about recruiting a Company to be known as Company "K" 1st Iowa Infantry, should the Regiment be organized;³ otherwise to go into the 12th Iowa, then about to be organized at Dubuque. Stibbs wrote letters to all the members of his old company who had not already re-enlisted in other organizations, urging them to re-enlist at once. A number responded: Hale came from Springville bringing with him King, Bailey and Stewart; Soper came from Western, where he had returned to his College studies, and brought Blanchard and Zuver. Ferguson, on his way from his home at Nevada to Davenport to enlist in the 2nd Iowa Cavalry, was intercepted at Cedar Rapids, with his bosom friend and companion N. G. Price. John M. Clark and Henry W. Ross gathered a number of their friends and associates around them as volunteers.⁴ Every recruit became a recruiting agent, and with characteristic energy Stibbs prosecuted the work of enrolling the Company. Neighboring settlements were visited, meetings were held in the school houses, and recruits secured. Cedar Rapids . . . was canvassed, and no young man who could pass muster refused a place. Irish, Bohemian, German and American were alike welcome. By October 10th, about seventy men were enrolled. About this time Robert W. Hilton⁵ had about twenty men enrolled at Shellsburg, Benton County, Iowa,

³ Soper here means "reorganized"; this, however, did not take place. The 1st Iowa, a three-month regiment, was allowed to go out of existence, and those who wanted to re-enter the service went into the three-year regiments organized in response to Lincoln's second call for troops. Thomas Z. Cook of Cedar Rapids, the Captain of Co. K, 1st Iowa, later was appointed Lieut. Col. of the 18th Iowa. John H. Stibbs, also of Cedar Rapids, was 1st Sergt. of Co. K, 1st Iowa; on the organization of Co. D, 12th Iowa, he was elected Captain; March 23, 1863, he was promoted to Major; Aug. 5, 1863, to Lieut. Col.; and on Feb. 11, 1865, to Col. of the Regiment. *Roster and Record*, 1:25, 78; 2:526; 3:124. The 1st Iowa took part in the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri, Aug. 10, 1861. For a brief history of the regiment, see *ibid.*, 1:3-9.

⁴ See *Roster and Record*, 2: *passim*: Hiel Hale (p. 468); Eli King (p. 482); Edwin H. Bailey (p. 426); Aaron A. Stewart (p. 526); Allen M. Blanchard (p. 427); Jason D. Ferguson (p. 456); Nathan G. Price (p. 511); John M. Clark (p. 439); and Henry W. Ross (p. 517).

⁵ Robert W. Hilton of Shellsburg enlisted as 1st Sergt. of Co. D. Two days after his capture at Shiloh, he was promoted to 2nd Lieut., but the commission was withdrawn because, during his imprisonment he took the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States. He became very ill during his imprisonment, and upon the urgings of his father, a resident of Macon, Georgia, he took the oath, but died two weeks after his release. See section of the Soper manuscript previously published: Mildred

and they were prevailed upon to join their fortunes with the Cedar Rapids Company; and the two being sufficient to constitute a minimum Company, its organization was immediately provided for. . . .

As fast as recruited the volunteers were ordered into quarters, which meant that they were sent to the Hotel, the old Union House, occupied by John Hogendobler, afterwards Captain of Company "A" of Gray Beard Regiment, 37th Iowa,⁶ to board, and about enough drilling done to give good appetites. We presume the table was ordinary but we venture that few of the boys ever forgot how good their meals tasted, and in after years on the weary march with empty stomachs, sighed for a seat a Hogendobler's table.

On the 12th of October, 1861, the recruits having been gathered together at Cedar Rapids, met pursuant to appointment in Carpenters Hall, situated in a Block afterwards transformed into the American House, the corner of 1st Street and 2nd Avenue, for the election of officers. John H. Stibbs was elected Captain, and Jason D. Ferguson 1st Lieut. unanimously, and Hiel Hale on the 1st ballot was elected 2nd Lieut over Robert W. Hilton. Captain Stibbs, thereupon, appointed Hilton Orderly Sergeant, and announced that he would appoint the other non-commissioned officers at a later day.

The organization of the Company being perfected by the election of its commissioned officers, Governor [Samuel J.] Kirkwood ordered Captain Stibbs to report immediately with his Company to Camp Union, near Dubuque, and Tuesday October 15th was appointed for its departure. The time for preparation was short, fortunately the most of the boys had little to take, an extra shirt and a blanket or a bed quilt was the required amount of baggage, and the people of Cedar Rapids, both generous and patriotic, let few depart unsupplied.

On Monday evening October 14th, a banquet was tendered to the departing Company by the ladies of Cedar Rapids. Just before the time appointed for the feast the Company in line in front of Carpenters Block, in the presence of a large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen, Colonel Mer-

Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons, 1862," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:88 (January, 1956).

⁶ The 37th, or "Graybeard," Regiment, was mustered Dec. 15, 1862, and mustered out on May 24, 1865. Made up of men over forty-five years of age, but in good health, the regiment was to be used for guard duty when needed, releasing younger men for service at the front. For brief history, see *Roster and Record*, 5:741-4.

ritt,⁷ who as Lieut. Col. had so ably commanded the 1st Iowa at Wilson's Creek, on behalf of the ladies of Cedar Rapids, in a patriotic and feeling speech presented the Company with a beautiful National Flag. Before the Colonel retired, Edward W. Calder,⁸ a member of the Company, and who had also been a member of Company "K" of the 1st Iowa, handed him a sword that he had captured at Wilson's Creek, and requested its presentation to Captain Stibbs, which was done by the Colonel in a happy manner. Captain Stibbs in appropriate words accepted the sword and the flag, and pledged himself and Company to do their duty as behooved soldiers and men of the great free north-west, and appointed Nathan G. Price Company Ensign. After the speeches and ceremonies of the presentation were over, the Company repaired to Carpenters Hall, where supper was laid, and they were waited upon by the brightest and prettiest of Cedar Rapids' fair damsels.

The boys made their first charge; they captured the table, ate all they could, and in order to settle the matter danced until morning. There may have been sad hearts but they did not so appear. In the small hours of the morning the dancing ceased, and the boys sought a few moments sleep before their departure.

Cedar Rapids was then the terminus of the railroad, the train left for the east in the morning. At an early hour the Company assembled and headed by the Cedar Rapids Cornet Band marched for the depot where the train was waiting. Farewells, such as only were witnessed from 1861 to 1865 when Companies of volunteers left their homes for the wars, were seen, felt and spoken. The whistle shrieked and the train pulled out for Clinton. A few of the boys were unable to leave at this time, and Lieut. Hale was left to bring on those left behind, and such others as might enlist in the meantime, on the following Tuesday.

The train arrived at Clinton about 10:30 A. M. where the Company were to take a steamer for Dubuque. Dinner was provided at the hotels for the company, and the boys spent the day inspecting the sawmills, rafts of logs, and the Mississippi generally. While engaged in the latter Whittam slipped from some logs he was experimenting with into the river, but was

⁷ William H. Merritt of Cedar Rapids, Lieut. Col. of the 1st Iowa. *Ibid.*, 1:10.

⁸ Edward W. Calder, age nineteen, of Cedar Rapids, originally a private in Co. K, 1st Iowa, was 4th Sergt. of Co. D, 12th Iowa. He was wounded severely at Fort Donelson and killed in battle at Corinth on Oct. 3, 1862. *Ibid.*, 1:24, 2:439.

finally rescued by Zuver and Brennan;⁹ this is believed to be Whittam's first scrape, but not his last.

At five P. M. the Steamer Pembina came up the river and landed. The boys went on board and after a satisfactory supper wrapped themselves in the blankets or quilts provided by the good people of Cedar Rapids, and lying on the decks here and there, gazing at the bright stars, or the dim outlines of rocky bluffs lining the shores of the Father of Waters, thought of the home and loved ones left behind, and of the impenetrable unknown future, and passed into a dreamless sleep, undisturbed by the trembling pulsations as the engine worked, or the whirl of the water as it was splashed and churned by the paddles of the moving steamer.

CAMP UNION

The Steamer having on board Captain Stibbs' Company arrived at the Landing near Eagle Point above Dubuque during the night, and at daylight the Company debarked and marched to Camp Union a temporary camp of instruction for volunteers, situated on a sandy plateau on the bank of the Mississippi River about two miles above the City near where the shops of the C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co. are now located. The camp had been constructed for and occupied by the 9th Iowa Infantry commanded by Col. Vandever,¹⁰ then member of Congress from the Second District of Iowa, which had recently gone South.

Several Companies for the 12th Iowa had already arrived and were occupying the barracks which consisted of ten barn like buildings boarded horizontally with pine board with shingled roofs having within on either side three tiers of bunks for the men, with a hallway or aisle through the middle with doors at either end, built on opposite sides of the drill or parade ground. The Regimental and Company officers' quarters were at one end of the parade ground, and the Quarter-masters and Commissaries buildings of similar construction were located at one side, and the whole with the drill and parade grounds were enclosed by guard-lines, which means simply a line or path whereon a sentry walked his beat day and night while on guard allowing no one to pass either out or in.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: *passim*: John J. Whittam of Cedar Rapids (p. 543), and Patrick Brennan of Nashua (p. 427).

¹⁰ William Vandever of Dubuque, a member of Congress from Iowa's 2nd District, was appointed Col. of the 9th Iowa, Aug. 30, 1861. In March, 1863, he was promoted to Brig. Gen., but resigned on the same day. In 1865 he was brevetted a Maj. Gen. *Ibid.*, 2:11.

The company was welcomed to camp by those already there and one of the buildings assigned to the company for its quarters, and breakfast consisting of bakers bread, meat and coffee was speedily furnished, which having been dispatched the boys proceeded to get settled. The company was divided for cooking purposes into messes consisting of twelve men each, and rations each day issued to the company and then divided up among the several messes, consisting of bread, coffee, beef and sugar, which constituted the fare while we remained there in camp with an occasional ration of potatoes, cabbage, rice and beans. The day was occupied in getting quarters cleaned and the bunks in shape, hay for beds, and in making and contriving various devices which were made use of to enable the boys to make themselves as comfortable as possible in the small space allotted to each one, the bunks being each occupied by two. A number of members of the company had been clerks in stores, bookkeepers in banks, and other pursuits of that character, and of course were more or less fastidious as to their personal surroundings and personal appearances, and sleeping on hay with a bed-quilt over them was rather a new experience, to say nothing of the other conveniences if not luxuries pertaining to clean clothes and polished shoes.

The next day October 17th the regular round of duties was begun which occupied our time during our stay at Camp Union, viz: Reveille and roll call at daylight followed by drill for an hour, after which breakfast was dispatched; then came fatigue duty — that is cleaning up the camp — and guard mounting, after which squad and company drill the remainder of the forenoon. All were ready for dinner at 12 o'clock, and at 1:30 P.M. Company, Battalion and Regimental drill the rest of the afternoon followed by supper at sundown. At 9 o'clock tattoo sounded when all fell in for roll call, which was followed almost immediately by taps — lights out — and sleep. The exercise was vigorous, the diet healthful, and the boys thrived and grew fat; there was no sick list. [The camp diseases usually developed at Benton Barracks in St. Louis, or in the field.]

On Tuesday morning October 25th, Lieut. Hale arrived with the remainder of the company, and on October 26th, 1861, the Company 98 strong was mustered into the United States service for three years, or during the war, by Captain Washington, 13th U. S. Infantry, afterwards killed while commanding his regiment during the assaults on Vicksburg in 1863.

A day or two after the remainder of the non-commissioned officers were appointed. . . .¹¹

All commissioned officers, the four Sergeants and first Corporal had seen service in Company K, First Iowa Infantry, during the preceding summer in Missouri, and had been at the battle of Wilson's Creek, and their example and knowledge was beneficial to the Company in teaching the men to take care and provide for themselves, also in furnishing instructors in drilling, the result was that the Company speedily became the best drilled Company in the regiment; besides Captain Stibbs and Lieut. Ferguson had no equals in the regiment as drill-masters and Company Commanders and few superiors in the service. The men were young, intelligent and quick to learn and eager for the work in hand; it was the honest, earnest, hearty yeomanry of the great free Northwest that made them, when trained soldiers, an invincible army.

The daily routine of Camp life, sleeping, eating, drilling, and standing guard, was enlivened by few incidents to break its monotony. After muster into the United States service, complete outfits of clothing was issued to the enlisted men, and all were soon arrayed in blue coats and brass buttons. The suits had not been made exactly from measure for the boys, and it was not an uncommon thing to see a six footer with a pair of pants six inches too short hunting a five foot four who had obtained a pair six inches too long. Trading clothing in order to get a fit was one of the diversions of issue day.

October 30th, Governor Kirkwood visited the camp and reviewed the command, and passed flattering comments upon their proficiency and sol-

¹¹ Following is the list of noncommissioned officers, as given in the Soper manuscript, with the age of each man in parentheses:

- Robert W. Hilton (25) — 1st Sergt.
- Erastus B. Soper (20) — 2nd Sergt.
- Alvaro C. Blood (20) — 3rd Sergt.
- Edward W. Calder (19) — 4th Sergt.
- John M. Clark (29) — 5th Sergt.
- Henry W. Ross (21) — 1st Corp.
- Joseph Stibbs (18) — 2nd Corp.
- Homer C. Morehead (23) — 3rd Corps
- Judson L. Boughton (22) — 4th Corp.
- James L. Cowell (24) — 5th Corp.
- Theodore L. Prescott (22) — 6th Corp.
- Howard Pangborn (22) — 7th Corp.
- Richard D. McRoberts (22) — 8th Corp.
- Charles W. Clark (18) — Musician

dierly bearing. Nov. 1st, the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad brought an excursion to visit the Camp, and the regiment marched to the City and met the train at the depot. As Cedar Rapids had no Railroad connections with Dubuque, Company D's sisters and sweethearts did not come. However, Zuver, of Company D, was made happy by finding his sister among the excursionists, which made him the envy of the whole Company. On November the 17th, Adgt. Gen. Baker¹² visited the Company and highly complimented the regiment as the best drilled regiment in the state; there then being in the several camps of instruction the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th Regiments; and promised that the Regiments should be moving South in a few days.

On Nov. 25th, the last Company having been filled up to the minimum number, was mustered into the United States service; and thereupon the Companies were assigned their several places in the regiment which was done according to the date of their muster in of the Captains with their Companies, or where several were mustered the same day according to the date of reporting at Camp ready to be mustered. Captain Stibbs being the fourth Captain in rank his Company was lettered "D" and in the formation of the regiment assigned according to the then army regulation the third in line from the right.

The regiment was anxious to go South and their ardour was probably intensified somewhat by the weather, which although pleasant had been gradually growing colder and when orders came to be ready to take boats for St. Louis, on the 26th, all was hustle, bustle and excitement; knapsacks were packed, rations cooked, haversacks filled and everything made ready to move at a moments notice. The time for departure was fixed for November 27th, 1861, but with the appointed day came a hard frost and a genuine cold snap, which closed the navigation on the river, and no boat dare undertake the trip. The barracks were built for summer quarters, and were not tenantable in winter, everything was packed up and it was anything but a delightful day on that Nov. 27th, as the boys stood shivering on the windward side of the barracks sunning themselves for a little warmth waiting for orders to move. The moments and the hours passed very slowly,

¹² Nathaniel B. Baker, appointed Adjutant General of Iowa by Governor Kirkwood at the outbreak of the war, held that office until his death in 1876. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:11-12.

finally the baggage was loaded and sent to the City, while the regiment waited for orders. The company formed in line and were kept marching and counter-marching, and double-quicking to keep warm as it was impracticable to remain in camp. When night fell the regiment was formed and took up its line of march for the City. The Steamer intended for the transportation of the regiment down the river had not arrived and the river was gorged with ice floes, and there was no alternative but to wait until cars could be procured. The right wing of the regiment, wherein was Company "D," was given quarters in the City Hall. The noble and patriotic ladies of Dubuque cheered us with coffee, which with bread and meat, made a very enjoyable meal. The night was passed as best we were able on the cold floors of the City building. Breakfast was dispatched and the regiment formed and marched through the City halting at the park for the benefit of an enterprising photographer, and while waiting, several of the Companies for the purpose of warming themselves gave exhibitions of their proficiency of drill to the edification of the curious idlers, after which the regiment again formed in line and marched to the river and were with difficulty, owing to the ice, ferried to Dunleith, the then terminus of the Illinois Central Railroad, opposite Dubuque where we endured a long cold weary wait.

At 10 o'clock P. M. the special train arrived and amid falling snow and howling winds we boarded the cars and soon set out to find a warmer place. We proceeded on the Illinois Central Railroad to Pana, where we arrived the next day and then changed cars to the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad, the change being necessitated by the two roads being built of a different gauge, and preceded by a pilot engine, rendered necessary by attempts of rebel sympathizers to wreck trains loaded with soldiers, we arrived on the morning of the 29th, at Illinoistown, now East St. Louis, opposite the City of St. Louis the military head-quarters. The morning was bright and beautiful, the opposite levee was lined with steamers, the river covered with all kinds of floating crafts, the most observed of all being the black ugly looking gun-boats, which afterwards made Commodore Foote and the gun-boat fleet famous. The city built on the hills rising from the water, terrace after terrace looking magnificent, and all was anxiety to cross over. Shortly after noon we were ferried across the river and marched through the city to Camp Benton, a distance of some five miles but as was fre-

quently the case the regiment was halted here and there for hours, or was delayed for some cause or other, and did not arrive at the barracks until dark.

CAMP BENTON

Camp Benton, established by General Fremont and named after his illustrious father-in-law,¹³ was a camp of instruction for volunteers from the western States, and was located just without the suburbs of the City of St. Louis, and some five miles back from the river. It comprised some 1,200 acres, a portion of which was the well known St. Louis Fair Ground. It was enclosed by a high, tight board fence, and the grounds had been graded and leveled, and quarters for all arms of the service erected. In the center, occupying probably one third of the space, was the drill and parade grounds, bordering this was the quarters for the Line Officers and men; each barracks being partitioned through the center and constructed to accommodate four companies, or two companies in each half, with two rooms at each end for Company Officers. Each half of the barrack was simply one large room with three tiers of bunks, head to the wall, on each side, except a hallway through the middle, and an immense soft coal stove in the center, where the space between the bunks intersected the passageway through the room, the front door leading to the drill ground and the rear to the mess and cook room. Back of the cook and mess room was a labyrinth of stables, suttler shops, restaurants &c. There were between two and three miles of these barracks and when the 12th Iowa arrived all were occupied by some 7 regiments of Cavalry, a dozen or more batteries of artillery, and some twenty-five or thirty regiments of infantry numbering nearly 40,000 men. The camp was well sewered, and provided with plenty of water from the waterworks, and lighted with gas.

On the evening of the 29th of Nov., 1861, the regiment marched into Camp Benton, the entrance being through the old fair ground gate. After entering the gate, the buildings of the fair ground proper — the amphitheater, aquarium, green houses, officers quarters of the fair association &c. were passed. It was dark and their faded splendors were not noted. Passing beyond the fair-ground buildings, among which were many ornamental trees, the barracks were reached and the Regiment was assigned quarters in the vacant stables of a Cavalry Barracks, all the barracks being

¹³ John C. Fremont's "illustrious father-in-law" was the famous Missouri Senator, Thomas Hart Benton.

full. All of the members of the Company accompanied the Regiment to St. Louis and all arrived in good health and spirits, 98 strong. Supper was speedily dispatched, and with straw and blankets a fairly comfortable night was passed. With early morning the enterprising and restless ones reconnoitered the Camp, and the day was occupied in putting the quarters in the best order practicable, and in visiting and being visited by friends and relations in the other Iowa Regiments then in camp. The weather was fine for the season and the usual routine of a soldiers life in a camp of instruction taken up and pursued.

We remained only one week in the vacant cavalry barn. On Dec. 6th we moved to the barracks assigned the Regiment, and on the day following exchanged quarters with the 2nd Mich. Cavalry. In these quarters, Companies D and F occupying the same room, we remained during the remainder of our stay in Camp Benton. At the time of our arrival the Department of the Missouri was commanded by Maj. Gen. [Henry W.] Halleck, the Camp by Brig. Gen. W. T. Sherman, then commonly called "crazy Sherman," on account of his supposed exaggerated ideas of the magnitude of the rebellion.¹⁴

On Dec. 8th the regiment was furnished with muskets of an ancient pattern, but despite promises and assurances that they were only for use in learning to drill with the manual of arms, the men refused, after considerable discussion among themselves, to keep them and so stacked them. Another regiment was quite ready to take them, so the 12th Iowa remained without arms. It must be remembered that at this period of our late war men were far plentier than muskets. During the first year of the war many of the regiments were armed with Belgian and Austrian muskets, and condemned ones at that.

At the time of our arrival measles, mumps and small pox were prevalent in camp. Many of the Company had never encountered either of these diseases. Vaccination proved a complete preventative for the latter, and many a boy today carries the scar on his left arm made by the working of the virus in the prick of the surgeon's knife, and retains a well defined recollec-

¹⁴For Sherman's supposed "craziness" at this time, see Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), Chap. 20. Having lived in the South for a time, Sherman was aware of the attitude there and knew that the war would not be a short one, as many in the North supposed. The confusion in command and supply in the early months of the war so terrified Sherman that he almost suffered a nervous collapse, and was accused of insanity by many newspapers.

tion of the lameness of that arm while it "worked." But there was no vaccination for measles and mumps; one by one the boys did not turn out at roll-call; and one by one, wrapped in blankets, the ambulance carried them to the hospitals in the City. Captain Stibbs was untiring in his efforts to have the boys well taken care of, but the boys did not, and could not, have such care in a barracks with 200 men in one room, as is essential with a disease like the measles. Pneumonia set in frequently, and those who survived were many of them rendered unfit for military duty. Those not attacked with either measles or mumps enjoyed good health; but the routine of barrack life grew tedious and uninteresting; and this was in no manner relieved by snow followed by rain and freezing and thawing about the holidays, which made the barracks very disagreeable.

On Dec. 27th the Regiment was marched to St. Louis Arsenal, in the lower part of the City, and were there supplied with arms and accoutrements. The march of eight miles to the arsenal and the return gave the boys a taste of what to expect on a march. As to the character of these arms, we quote from the report of Captain Stibbs to Col. Woods:

Received yesterday at St. Louis Arsenal, Fifty-one (51) improved rifled muskets made by Adam in the year one, and changed by Noah a few days after the flood from flint locks to percussion. Cleaned and rifled at St. Louis Arsenal, Anno Domino, 1861.

J. H. Stibbs, Captain,
Co. D.

With them, however, the boys made rapid progress in learning the manual of arms and could soon go through the evolutions with the precision of trained soldiers.

Christmas and New Years came and went; no Christmas dinner, and no New Years gifts; the boys never thought so much of their homes before, and were very sure they had never half appreciated them while enjoying them. On Christmas day we had for breakfast bakers bread, fried salt pork, and coffee. For dinner bakers bread, boiled fresh beef, boiled rice and coffee. Supper, bakers bread, fried salt pork and coffee. The above is a fair sample of our fare while we remained at Camp Benton. There was little variation; sometimes we had the beans for dinner and rice for supper, and perhaps once a week a mess of potatoes, and now and then a piece of raw onion.

There were several very good restaurants in the Camp; and now and then

when a boy received an enclosure from home, and especially after pay day, they became a favorite resort. It was no trick worth mentioning to eat from seventy-five cents to one dollars worth; but at \$13.00 per month a soldiers appetite for steaks, potatoes, or roast chicken could not often be indulged. New Years finds nearly one half of the Company on the sick list, and on Jan. 5th, 1862, death mustered out Wm. H. Webster, the first of Company D to succumb to disease; on Jan. 9th, followed Wm. L. Lee; Jan. 12th, John L. Jaques; Jan. 14th, John Lee; Jan. 16th, Henry Haradon; Jan. 18th, Jasper Coyner; and Jan. 21st, Uel Mather; all from measles or resultant pneumonia.¹⁵ These were all young, strong, hardy farmer boys, except Mather, who was the oldest man in the Company, probably 50 years of age, and one of the few married ones. These boys were to all appearance as strong and vigorous, and with a promise of as long life, as any in the Company. Their death cast a gloom over the entire Company, and caused a general desire and anxiety to get away from Camp Benton and into the field.

On Jan. 7th the paymaster came and paid off the Company from the date of muster into the United States service to Dec. 31st, 1861. On Jan. 13th the regiment received new English Enfield Rifles, then the best arms in the service. They were procured at Washington, D.C., by Col. Vandever of Dubuque, then M. C. from the Second District of Iowa, and shipped to St. Louis, addressed to Col Woods,¹⁶ for the 12th Iowa Infantry Vols. No Iowa Regiment had then received so good an arm and the boys were much elated. The next day orders came to be ready to go south causing much joy. From this time on, the boys continued their military education with zeal, daily expecting orders to march. Sickness prevailed and death reaped a rich harvest, not only in Company D, but also in the other companies of the regiment.

At midnight on Jan. 26th the welcome word came to be ready to move at 10 A. M. next day. Reveille sounded at 4 A. M., and everything was soon

¹⁵ According to the *Roster and Record*, 2: *passim*, the deaths in Co. D from measles in 1862 were: William H. Webster, age 18, Jan. 5 (p. 543); John S. Lee, age 19, Jan. 12 (p. 487); John L. Jaques, age 18, Jan. 12 (p. 477); Henry Haradon, age 26, Jan. 15 (p. 468); Jasper Coyner, age 20, Jan. 13 (p. 440); and Uel Mather, age 44, Jan. 21 (p. 497). Wm. L. Lee did not die of measles as here listed, but a Wm. L. Daily, age 18, died of that disease on Jan. 9 (p. 449), which is probably what Soper meant, and a typographical error in the manuscript is wrong.

¹⁶ Joseph Jackson Woods, age 38, of Maquoketa, a graduate of West Point, was Col. of the 12th Iowa from Nov. 25, 1861, until Nov. 22, 1864, when he was mustered out. *Ibid.*, 2:416. See also A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), 243-54.

packed and [ready] by 10 A. M. With arms and equipments new and bright, and knapsacks slung, the boys, animated with high hopes, fell in and joyously marched to the Levee where a Steamer took us to Illinoistown, now East St. Louis, where a train on the Ohio & Mississippi Railway waited.¹⁷

When we left St. Louis, the Company was accounted for as follows: Dead 7. Absent sick 18. The sick were ordered sent to the hospital. No accurate list of those left sick and in the hospital can now be given; those who were left however have not forgotten it, some of those left behind refused to go to the hospital and followed the Regiment, rejoining the Company at different points on the Ohio river. Among the latter was R. K. Soper;¹⁸ although suffering severely from the mumps he escaped from St. Louis and the doctors, and persistently followed the Regiment until he overtook it.

At Sandoval, Ill., a change of cars was made to the Illinois Central, and Cairo, Ill., reached in the afternoon. The Ohio and Mississippi Rivers are both on "a High," and it was a novelty to see the water in the rivers as high as the tops of houses in the town, the waters being kept back by high levees. Long before reaching Cairo, the country is low and flat, wooded, and much of it was covered with water. At night the Steamer Memphis received us, and during the night we steamed up the Ohio river, and morning found us wet and dripping at Paducah, Ky. Without landing we proceeded up the Ohio to Smithland, the mouth of the Cumberland river, where we tied up; the rains continued and the mud deepened. The next morning, Jan. 29th, we landed in the rain and took possession of vacant buildings for shelter; Co's. D and F were assigned to the M. E. Church, but the day is spent in great discomfort, unloading baggage and pitching tents on a hill near the town, where the 2nd and 7th Iowa were already camped. Two days and nights the rain continued and the Company remained in town, but finally the third day removed to Camp Smith. The Company had five Sibley Tents conical shaped, sloping from the top to the ground, the center pole resting on an iron tripod admits of a fire in the center, around which the boys slept

¹⁷ Grant was gathering troops ready for the assault on Forts Henry and Donelson. These two forts, close together where the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers flow within eleven miles of each other near the border of Kentucky and Tennessee, would have to be reduced in order to open the Tennessee to Union forces. *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:284-8. (Hereafter cited as Grant, *Memoirs*.)

¹⁸ Roswell K. Soper, age 18, was the brother of Erastus B. Soper. *Roster and Record*, 2:526.

feet to the fire, Indian fashion. The Company were accordingly divided into 5 squads, each in charge of a Corporal. The weather was disagreeable, rain, then freezing and thawing. Few who had here their first experience "on the tented field" will soon forget Camp Smith; here too the boys had their first lesson in what they afterward became very proficient in — foraging. Pigs, chickens and fence rails offered the principal temptations. But the boys did not remain long to enjoy the discomforts of this camp. Orders came the night of Feb. 4th to be ready to move the next day.

FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON

At 7 o'clock A. M. Feb. 5th, 1862, Co. D. struck tents and, with the regiment, moved to the landing at Smithland, Ky., and embarked on the Steamer Illinois, and dropped down the Ohio River to Paducah, Ky.; and that afternoon, preceded by the Gunboat fleet, and accompanied by other transports loaded with troops, ascended the Tennessee River to Hallecks Landing, some six miles below Fort Henry, arriving about 9 P. M., and the next morning disembarked and began its march up the East bank of the River towards the Fort.¹⁹ The ground was exceedingly soft, owing to the recent and plentiful rains, and the creeks and ravines were full of water, while the river, over full, covered the adjacent bottoms, and rendered the advance slow and tedious for the infantry, and almost impracticable for the artillery.

The Company since leaving St. Louis had been, and still was, commanded by 1st Lieut. Jason D. Ferguson, Captain Stibbs being absent in Ohio on furlough. The Regiment, in command of Colonel Woods, formed a part of the brigade consisting of the 7th, 50th, and 53rd Ill, the 13th Missouri, and 12th Iowa, and Batteries D, H, & K, of the first Missouri Artillery, and commanded by Col. John Cook of the 7th Ill., being the third Brigade of Gen. Charles F. Smith's Division.²⁰ Soon after moving out, the Gunboats under Commander Foote attacked Ft. Henry, and after a few hours brisk can-

¹⁹ Fort Henry lay on the east bank of the Tennessee River. Fort Donelson, some eleven miles to the east, lay on the west bank of the Cumberland.

²⁰ Grant's District of Cairo contained three divisions: the First, under Brig. Gen. John A. McClernand; the Second, under Brig. Gen. Charles F. Smith; and the Third, under Brig. Gen. Lewis Wallace. The 12th Iowa was part of the Third Brigade of Smith's Division, together with the 7th and 50th Illinois, the 52nd Indiana (not the 53rd Illinois as Soper lists it), the 12th Iowa, the 13th Missouri, and Batteries D, H, and K of the 1st Missouri Light Artillery. *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. VII, 168. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.) Note: The *Official Records* are in error in listing the 14th Iowa as part of this Brigade, instead of the 12th Iowa. See Cook's report to Smith, *ibid.*, 219.

nonading the firing ceased; the Fort had surrendered. The troops were hurried forward to endeavor to intercept the flying enemy, attempting to escape to Ft. Donelson; but the cannon stuck fast in the mud and the men were hobbled with the muck sticking to their shoes and it was dark before the outer fortifications of Ft. Henry were reached; there the Company, with the remainder of the Regiment and Brigade, built fires and bivouacked for the night. Coffee boiled in tin cups, and hard bread and bacon from the haversacks supplied the cravings of appetite, and a sound sleep on the ground, or on beds made of brush and leaves hastily collected, around the fires, restored all to cheerfulness. In the morning we entered the Fort, and found that the Garrison had escaped, except Gen Tilgham [sic]²¹ and some sixty men, who were made prisoners; among the number was Captain Jones, a son of ex-Senator Jones of Iowa.²²

At Ft. Henry the 12th Iowa occupied some of the barracks within the Fort built by the rebel garrison, and a detail of men from each Company in the Regiment was sent back to Halleck's landing to bring up the baggage and camp equipage. The river had continued to rise, and had flooded the bottoms, and it was only with great difficulty and more or less danger from drowning that this work was accomplished. Orderly Sergeant Hilton, when making up this detail, called for volunteers to go north with prisoners, and the writer of this paragraph was one of the number who volunteered; the detail was gone 24 hours tramping through mud and water, lifting guns and wagons stuck in the mud, loading and unloading baggage, returning the morning of Feb. 8th, having had little to eat and less sleep; the trip was a terribly hard one, and none of that squad were ever after anxious to volunteer to go north with prisoners. Company D, in their march from Halleck's Landing to Ft. Henry, had 45 men in their ranks. Their names cannot now be given, but they were mostly the hardy ones who having escaped sickness at Camp Benton, afterwards became hardened soldiers, and the men always to be depended on for a march or a fight.

²¹ Confederate Brig. Gen. Lloyd Tilghman.

²² George Wallace Jones, Democratic Senator from Iowa from 1847 to 1859, was replaced in the Senate by Republican James W. Grimes. Because of his friendship for Jefferson Davis, whom he had known since boyhood, Jones was arrested and placed in jail for 65 days during 1862. For biography and personal reminiscences, see John Carl Parish, *George Wallace Jones* (Iowa City, 1912). A Captain H. L. Jones was captured at the surrender of Fort Henry. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VII, 136.

After the capture of Ft. Henry, troops continued to arrive, and the hills to the east of the Fort were soon covered with camps. The weather was fine and the boys ate, slept, rested and foraged. On the 11th, the regiment moved out of the cabins in the Fort and camped on a ridge near where the other troops were in camp; the rising waters of the Tennessee River had so encroached on the Fort as to render longer occupancy of the quarters disagreeable.

The writer will remembers the night of the 11th of Feb., 1862. The troops were under orders to march the next day. They knew Ft. Donelson was their destination. The moon and stars shone brightly. The air was soft and delicious as with the breath of spring. Nearly all the regiments, fresh from Camps of Instruction, had Brass Bands. The twinkling camp fires dotted the surrounding hills. One after another of the Brigade and Regimental Bands played military and patriotic airs, one band scarcely ceasing before another took up the strain. The music for an hour or more sounding, first from one hill and then from another; sometimes two and three bands playing at the same time in as many different directions, on as many different hills, when all at once all the bands in all the regiments played tattoo. It was an enjoyable evening lying on ones blanket smoking his pipe in peace and listening to the delightful strains of martial music, while gazing at the moon and stars and the twinkling camp fires, thinking of the past and dreaming of the future.

The next morning reveille sounded and in a moment the hills were seemingly alive with blue-coated men, moving hither and thither, like so many ants; orders to move had set every one in motion; tents were struck, knapsacks packed, blankets rolled, and everything made ready to move. During the forenoon of Wednesday, Feb. 12th, 1862, the whole army moved from Ft. Henry, in the direction of Ft. Donelson. Gaily regiment after regiment filed out and took its position in the line of march with 40 rounds of ammunition in cartridge boxes, and two days ration in the haversacks, one blanket to each man rolled into a roll lengthwise the two ends tied together and slung over the shoulder, the more provident ones having their overcoats rolled in their blankets. The day was delightfully warm and sunny, but hazy; more like the smoky October Indian summer days of the north, than a February day; a halt was made about one P. M. and haversacks lightened of hardtack and raw bacon, near a deserted iron furnace. About 2 P. M. the march was resumed with eager steps. Soon, "listen, what is that," passed

along the line, as the distant boom of cannon is heard; forward, faster, the boys march; soon pop, pop, pop, is heard on the skirmish line; the command moves more slowly and cautiously; the enemies pickets are being driven in, and the troops are being assigned their position fronting the fortification; and Ft. Donelson is being invested.²³

The country was heavily wooded, there being but few clearings, and was much broken by hills and ravines, and, the regiment, in line of battle out of reach of bullets of the enemy, bivouacked for the night, orders being issued that no fires would be permitted after dark. Coffee was made, dry leaves were scraped together for bed and sleep sought. The night was chilly and a single blanket felt awfully thin before morning. There were few late sleepers. After daylight fires were built, and a hasty breakfast prepared and dispatched. All was anxiety and eagerness. At 7:30 A. M., the regiment was formed in line ready for the advance, at 8 o'clock the line of battle, preceded by Birge's regiment of sharpshooters as skirmishers, moved forward towards the enemy fortifications. On we went through the thick bushy wood, down hill and then up. On the ridges we were exposed sometimes to the enemies fire from all sort of arms. In this manner we advanced to within from five to seven hundred yards of the enemies works, when just back of the brow of the hill, from which the rebel works were separated by a broad deep ravine, the command was halted and ordered to lie down. Co's A and B were sent forward to the skirmish line to relieve the sharpshooters, and there we remained the balance of the day. Canteens were filled from the rear, hard bread and raw bacon eaten, and orders were given for the regiment to remain on the line all night.

The day had been bright and warm, at nightfall the sky was overcast with clouds; soon after dark rain came down in torrents. As the night advanced it grew colder; the rain became first sleet and then snow. Everything froze; blankets and clothing would stand alone, relieved of its occupants. The suffering from cold was intense. After much effort Col. Wood obtained leave to withdraw one wing of the regiment to a safe distance in the rear where fires could be lighted. The right wing, composed of Co.'s A, F, D, I, and C, went first to the rear, and after a while succeeded in getting the fires well started, when ordered back to the line to relieve the left wing of the Regiment.

²³ For Grant's account of the investment and capture of Fort Donelson, the event which brought him national fame, see Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:294-315.

At daylight the snow covered the ground two inches or more in depth. Co's. D and K were sent to the skirmish line, and we, for the first time, tested the range of our new Enfield Rifles on the rebel pickets and sharpshooters. At eight o'clock however we were relieved by Birge's sharpshooters and returned to the fires in the rear, where we made coffee, toasted our bacon, ate our breakfast in peace around the blazing fires. The fires and hot coffee were very much enjoyed.

The 14th of Feb. was cold and cheerless, and the regiment remained on its line all day. About noon the Gunboats began their bombardment of Ft. Donelson, and the investing troops answered the roar of the hundred pounders with a shout that must have struck terror to the hearts of the garrison. In the afternoon Captain Stibbs and his brother Corporal Joseph Stibbs rejoined the company, having come up the Cumberland River with the troops which followed the gunboat fleet, and landed below the Fort, and made their way around the line to the position of the 12th Iowa. The boys received him with a shout and both Captain and men were much delighted to be together again. That night the regiment was permitted to retire to a position where fires could be built, and slept with feet to burning logs, except Companies D and F which were left on picket. During the night about two more inches of snow fell, and the weather continued very cold. The videttes were posted behind trees &c., where for two hours at a time they must constantly look and listen for the enemy without doing anything to disclose their own whereabouts. In such weather, on such duty, the men could not but suffer greatly from the cold, but the night finally passed without incident worth relating, and with the morning sun came Birge's sharpshooters again to our relief.

Fort Donelson proper consisted of an earthwork built on a high bluff 80 feet or more above the Cumberland River, commanding the river both above and below the Fort for some three miles, and was mounted with a number of heavy cannon. Surrounding the Fort was a line of earthworks from five to seven miles long, constructed in a zigzag course so as to keep on the summit of the ridges, with forts on the commanding eminences and at convenient angles, where their fire would be most destructive to an advancing foe. These forts were occupied with batteries of artillery. In front of the fortifications, for a couple of hundred yards or more, the trees had been felled all one way, the tops from the works towards the attacking foe, and the branches lopped and sharpened, forming an almost impenetrable abatis. In

this abbatis the enemies pickets and sharpshooters were concealed, and through this an assaulting foe must make its way under the enemies fire.

During the forenoon of the 15th, on the extreme right of our line, McClernand and Wallace with their divisions, had a sharp fight with the garrison which attempted to break through our lines, while in front of Smith's Division, skirmishing was active. About three o'clock P. M. our regiment was ordered to attack by way of feint, to cover an assault about to be made. Soon we were at it, and with the aid of the sharpshooters, not only kept up a heavy fire, but made it extremely dangerous for a rebel to show his head above the protecting works. Soon however the 12th Iowa, with the 50th Ill., and 13th Mo., were ordered to reinforce and sustain the assaulting brigade commanded by Gen. Lauman,²⁴ and led by the 2nd Iowa Infy.

The 12th took the lead through the fallen timber directly towards the position of the attack, and directly under the fire of the rebel batteries, supported by a cross fire of musketry from the breastworks. Away the boys went, through tree tops, under logs, over the trunks and under them; sometimes head first and sometimes heels first; as near a double quick as circumstances and the obstructions would permit, and through a regular storm of shells, grape shot and musketry. We soon reached the breastworks just vacated by the enemy; here we made a stand and did some effective firing, amid a storm of rebel bullets. Although not followed or supported by the other regiments, we maintained our positions until near dark, when we were relieved and retired to the woods, a half a mile or more distant, where we bivouacked around fires for the night, after making coffee and refreshing ourselves as best we might with the scanty supplies at hand. The loss of Company D in this charge was Sergeant Edward W. Calder, severely wounded in the thigh by a grape shot and private John W. Rowan, wounded slightly in the hand.²⁵ Early the next morning we returned to the position occupied by us the night before, for the purpose of renewing the assault, but about the time we were ready to advance the white flag floated to the breeze; Fort Donelson had surrendered. Cheer upon cheer rent the air. Soon the troops advanced into the Fort, bands playing and men singing and huzzahing. The

²⁴ Jacob G. Lauman, Col. of the 7th Iowa, was at this time the colonel in command of the Fourth Brigade of Smith's division, consisting of the 25th Indiana, the 2nd, 7th, and 14th Iowa, and Birge's Sharpshooters. For his bravery at Fort Donelson, Lauman was made a brigadier-general. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. VII, 168; *Stuart, Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 163-70.

²⁵ *Roster and Record*, 2:439, 517.

12th Iowa, being the 3rd regiment in the advance, in order, and in honor, and in this order we took possession of the Fort. This unconditional surrender of Fort Donelson, with 15,000 prisoners and much war material, gave great encouragement to the North, and gave General Grant a name.²⁶

Generals Floyd, Pillow and Forrest,²⁷ with a small force and some prisoners escaped; yet the victory was complete, and the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers were by a ten days campaign opened, and Nashville and other important points were immediately occupied.

Enclosed within the fortifications, and about a mile above the Fort proper, was the town of Dover, the county seat of Stewart County, Tenn. Here had been the headquarters of the rebel commander, and here Gen. Grant established his headquarters. The 12th Iowa immediately took possession of the log barracks recently occupied by the 49th Tenn., C. S. A., and found therein cooking utensils and some flour and meal. Commissary supplies were soon brought up and rations issued, a square meal cooked, and that night found the boys happy. Letters were written home to tell the joyful news, and a memorable Sunday came to a close.

From the 16th of February to the 7th of March, the Regiment remained at Fort Donelson. The quarters were warm and comfortable, but the terrible exposure during the siege told on the boys. Scarcely one escaped the diarrhea, and day and night the skirmish line formed on the side of the hill below the camp was being constantly relieved. The longer we remained the worse this camp disease became and few of the survivors of that campaign fully recovered from its effects.

Nothing worth recording further took place, while we remained at the Fort. The men employed their time, in addition to the usual pastimes of camp life, in endeavoring to cook something they could eat, and find some medicine that would relieve the diarrhea; and not succeeding well in either were anxious to move. Orders came on the 16th to be ready to move, and on the following day the regiment marched to Mineral Landing, on the Tennessee River, some five miles above Fort Henry, where we remained in camp about a week, and then embarked on the Steamer John Warner to ascend the Tennessee River

²⁶ At Fort Donelson, when the Confederate Brig. Gen. Simon B. Buckner asked Grant for terms, he made his famous reply: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted." Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:311.

²⁷ Confederate Generals John B. Floyd, Gideon J. Pillow, and Nathan B. Forrest.

SHILOH

The Regiment lay at Mineral Point Landing till the 13th of March, 1862, when with the First Minnesota Battery it embarked on the steamer John Warner, and in the evening accompanied by a large flotilla of steamers loaded with troops, proceeded up the river convoyed by the wooden gunboats, Tyler and Connestoga. During the night but little could be seen of the river or its shores, but the next day, Sunday, it was warm and as bright and beautiful as a spring day could well be. Sometimes long stretches of the river could be seen and the scene presented once viewed can never be forgotten.

One after another the transports followed, the black smoke pouring from their tall funnels, their decks covered with blue-coated men, and the glinting bayonets of stacked muskets, flags and banners flying, bands playing with here and there a calliope shrieking out in its loudest and most melodious strains, Hail Columbia and the Star Spangled Banner. The shores on one bank or the other were generally bluff, and everywhere heavily wooded. The trees on the bottoms seemingly grew out of the water, the flood covering the bottoms in places from twenty to thirty feet deep, and were everywhere draped with long gray moss hanging in festoons from the limbs two and three feet long interspersed with green bunches of mistletoe. Everything was new and strange. Every hour the trees seemingly grew greener and the sun became warmer as we penetrated further and further south. For that one day at least we realized "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." During the night of the 14th in the midst of a March rain storm our boat arrived at Savannah, Tennessee, the county seat of Hardin County, and remained there several days. It was a characteristic Southern town, consisting of one street, and that not a long one, lined with dilapidated, weatherworn, wooden buildings, situated on the high ground on the right bank of the river. The people, mostly whites, but poor in industry and intelligence as well as property, were said to strongly impregnated with Union sentiments. We remained on the steamer in great discomfort until the 17th, when we descended the river eight miles to Pittsburg Landing, and on the 18th, there disembarked and went into camp on a bluff about three-fourths of a mile back of, and below, the landing.

The memory of that trip on the Tennessee as a whole is not an enjoyable one. With the single exception of the day above mentioned, the weather was rainy and disagreeable. Company D's position was on the hurricane or upper deck. When the weather was warm and pleasant, sleeping there in

the open air was delightful, but when the rains descended under instead of over a roof was decidedly preferable; and all had permission to seek shelter. Some went down into the hold, some to the engine room, and others found shelter in different portions of the boat wherever space to lie down could be found. At Savannah we were allowed to go ashore and build fires and cook. The rest of the time we ate our rations as they were issued unless some of the boys succeeded in bribing the engineer to give them some hot water from the boiler to make coffee.

We left the steamer without regret and went into camp and blessed the man who invented a tent we could build a fire in. It was wet and muddy when we went into camp, but the position assigned to the 12th was near the river in an old clearing on the brow of a ridge, sloping abruptly in the rear to a deep ravine, having its source a short distance above the camp, and the road to the Landing leading around the head of the ravine. Straight across the ravine it was only a few hundred yards to the landing, while by the road it was three-fourths of a mile at least, and along which were camped the balance of our brigade, the 2nd, 7th and 14th Iowa.²⁸ Camp life was here begun in earnest. Nearly the whole Company and Regiment were still suffering from diarrhea, or flux, contracted at Ft. Donelson where we had succeeded the rebels, not only to their huts, but also to their body lice — ever after called "Graybacks."

While here we were given something as a delicacy called dessicated vegetables, much recommended for soups. It consisted of corn, carrots, turnips, celery and probably other vegetables, roots, leaves, stalks and all steamed and pressed into bricks and dried by evaporation. Experiments in cooking this were made with results sometimes quite as astonishing to the cook as to those who tried to eat it. Trying to cook something we could eat, writing letters, attending upon Company and Regimental drill, with now and then a visit to the landing, or a visit to some other Iowa regiment, or a ramble into the woods in search of sweet-briar roots for pipe making, at which some of the boys became quite proficient, gave not only plenty of occupation but served as sufficient diversion. The health of the Company greatly improved,

²⁸ The 12th Iowa was now a part of the First Brigade (commanded by Col. James M. Tuttle of the 2nd Iowa), of the Second Division, originally commanded by General C. F. Smith. Smith was ill during the battle of Shiloh, and his division was commanded by Brig. Gen. W. H. L. Wallace. The First — or Iowa — Brigade consisted of the 2nd, 7th, 12th, and 14th Iowa. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 101.

as also its proficiency in its drilling, particularly in skirmish drill, wherein it was pronounced by General Lauman to be unexcelled in the command.

Transports daily arrived, loaded with troops, and a large army was being collected from all over the Northwest. Many regiments came directly from camps in the State where organized, little dreaming of the baptism of fire and blood that awaited them. Rumors occasionally came to camp of skirmishes on the picket line and of a reconnaissance by something of a force of the enemy, but no one thought we were in any danger of an attack. The cavalry reported no enemy of any consequence nearer than Corinth. On April 3rd a review of the army took place, much to the disgust of many of the boys who thought that marching for show a waste of strength and took satisfaction consequently in cussing the Generals.

Sunday morning, April 6th, 1862, was delightful. The air was warm and calm. The sun shone warm and brightly. The fruit trees were in full bloom, and the woods green and melodious with bird songs. The camp was quiet and peaceful. Breakfast was dispatched and everyone was busy in preparing himself or his arms and equipments for the usual Sunday morning inspection. All at once the startling cry rang through the camp — "*Fall in 12th Iowa*," "*Fall in*," followed by the ominous long roll. Quickly the men responded. Company D was quickly in the ranks, and the first company on the color line, but the other companies were but little behind. In less than five minutes from the time the long roll sounded the regiment was in line, and quickly marching toward brigade headquarters where it took its place in the brigade formation, which was in the order of the number of the regiments composing the Brigade, when commanded by Brig. General J. M. Tuttle,²⁹ then recently promoted, and still forming a part of General C. F. Smith's Second Division, who being sick at Savannah the command devolved upon Brig. General W. H. L. Wallace. The regiment, as indeed the Brigade, when formed seemed to think that they were the victims of a mistake or else that a practical joke was being perpetrated on them, as no one thought a battle was in progress when commanded to fall in with two days rations and forty rounds of cartridges. Being camped near the landing and so far from the scene of conflict, they had no idea of what was going on.³⁰

²⁹ For Tuttle, see Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 51-8.

³⁰ For the experiences of the Iowa troops at the battle of Shiloh, see Mildred Throne, "Iowa and the Battle of Shiloh," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 55:209-248 (July, 1957).

As soon as formed the Brigade hastened to the front at a brisk gait, marching some two miles back from the landing, somewhat impeded and its ranks now and then broken, by stragglers from the front, running, leaping, yelling with very much the appearance of having been stampeded.

Then a line of battle was formed "on the right by file into line," the right of the 2nd resting on the Corinth road, then the 7th, 12th and 14th Iowa, the 12th reaching its position in line of battle about 9 A. M., the 8th Iowa from Sweeney's [sic] Brigade about 11 A. M., next to the 14th, and next to that of the 58th Illinois.³¹

The position of the 12th Iowa was in a depression back of a cleared field which was about 400 yards across and about 50 feet from a stake and rider rail fence, along which blackberry bushes and brush were so thick that the line was effectually concealed from the enemy with a road along the field between the fence and the timber.

As soon as the line was formed, General Tuttle³² rode along the line and addressed the men. The words Co. D heard were "Remember that you are Iowa boys" and, "Hold your ground at all hazards." We had not long to wait before the enemy came in sight on the opposite side of the field. The boys were eager to get a shot at them, and advancing to the fence poured volley after volley into their ranks, until they broke and ran in confusion to the rear. A rebel battery opened fire upon our line and the regiment resumed its position in the hollow.

Very shortly after a six-gun battery came up and placed three of its guns in front and three in the rear of our regiment. It was a poor battery. One of the guns was stationed in front of Company D. The men unhitched the horses and backed the guns to the brow of the hill, and then all of them wanted to attend the caisson or to hand out the ammunition, but one or two managed to get the guns loaded when some of the boys of Company D & F had to run the guns up the hill for them to discharge them. After firing three or four rounds they put a shell in point foremost and could not get it out or send it home, so that gun was disabled. Two of their horses

³¹ The 8th Iowa and the 58th Illinois were in the Third Brigade of Wallace's Division, under command of Col. T. W. Sweeny. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 101.

³² Tuttle was at this time Col. of the 2nd Iowa. During the battle of Shiloh, when Gen. Wallace was killed, he took over command of the division. He was promoted to Brig. Gen., June 22, 1862. *Roster and Record*, 1:98.

were shot and one of the men left a saber and another a box of cannon caps and, leaving the disabled gun, the rest of the battery departed.

To the right and left the battle raged, but in our front quiet reigned, save now and then the skirmishers and sharpshooters of the enemy attempted to pick off our men which was replied to as opportunity offered.

During the lull following the repulse of the enemy a battery of the First Missouri Artillery formed in front of the regiment which it then supported while the battery fired at bodies of the enemy which showed themselves at a distance too great for the infantry and did good service while the position was held.

About 12 o'clock M. the enemy was seen forming for another charge and due preparations were made to receive them. On they came more determined than before. The battery is withdrawn to an elevation in the rear of the infantry line, and the boys, holding their fire till their aim can be sure, poured volley after volley into the advancing foe with murderous effect. Their line faltered and again they sought safety in flight beyond the range of our Enfields. After the enemy had been driven from the open field in front of the 12th Iowa the right wing is ordered to support the left wing and the 14th Iowa, and filed to the left behind them as a heavy attack was expected. In front of the 14th Iowa there was a dense undergrowth into and through which the enemy had crept unobserved, but so heavy a fire was concentrated upon them that the very brush and saplings were mowed down and the place became too hot for occupancy and was speedily deserted by the enemy; their attacks signally failed. The Iowa brigade still holds its first line. The Missouri battery did good work although an accident occurred which was very nearly fatal to one of Company D, a premature discharge of the gun behind Company D threw a shell into our ranks which burst. A piece hit E. H. Bailey's cartridge box, bruising his hip so that he was compelled to go to the rear, and throwing dirt over all of the Company. Again there was a lull in front, but not so on the right and left rear; there the battle raged furiously. The sound of 75,000 to 100,000 muskets and rifles made a constant roar, rising and swelling and falling like the roar of some mighty tempest, interspersed with the reports of more than 100 cannon fired in rapid and constant succession. The noise was such that there could be no talking. The men could not hear one another's words.

About 3 P. M. we knew by the roar of the guns behind us that the enemy had driven in our left wing. We had been ordered to hold that position at

all hazards, and we were the boys to do it. About that time an aide of General Tuttle brought orders to the regiment to fall back, and the command to "about face" was given and obeyed, and the regiment marched directly to the rear between a quarter and a half mile, when the bullets commenced whizzing from the front. We soon discovered, about 300 yards ahead of us through the trees, the enemy four lines deep, and among them we afterwards learned, was the famous Mississippi Tigers. At the point of coming in contact with this force a deep road was worn, which afforded some shelter. We halted and began firing into the enemy. It was generally returned. Here the conflict was fierce and the firing of the regiment rapid and destructive. The conflict raged for about an hour when the enemy gave way and retired. About this time the enemy came up behind us and began firing and we were between the enemy on all sides. We knew then that Prentiss'³³ division had been cut in two and that only the small portion that had joined upon the Brigade of General Tuttle in the formation of the morning, remained intact.

By all authorities, Federal and Confederate, this point where the 12th Iowa came in contact with the Tigers was the "Hornet's Nest," and toward making it such the 8th, 12th and 14th Iowa, and the 58th Illinois contributed their full share. When the enemy came up behind us we were penned in, something like the shape of the letter V. It was here that many a brave man fell. A rebel battery came up and threw grape, cannister and shells into our ranks. We were ordered to left face from a rear front and started down the road towards the landing, across a hollow known in history as "Hells Hollow," and up towards the top of the ridge where we found ourselves in the camp of the 3rd Iowa.

While crossing this hollow with the enemy on the ridges, we were subjected to a destructive fire, apparently from every direction. On account of the deep mud and the killing and wounding of many of the officers and men, the companies became entangled with one another and the regiment was thrown into more or less disorder. The camp of the 3rd Iowa was full of wounded, and the scattered and disorganized fragments of different com-

³³ Brig. Gen. Benjamin M. Prentiss, in command of the Sixth Division which had met the first assault of the Confederates on the morning of April 6, had retired as much of his command as possible to this spot, where five Iowa regiments and the 58th Illinois were holding out, known after the war as the "Hornet's Nest." *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 104; Throne, "Iowa and the Battle of Shiloh," 232-4. Prentiss was the highest-ranking Union officer to be captured at Shiloh.

mands seeking shelter or fighting on their own hook. Some of them were hoisting symbols of surrender. Graycoats on the left, graycoats on the right, graycoats in front, graycoats in the rear closing in upon us, while a constant and destructive fire caused the men to fall in every direction, like mown weeds. The enemy were so close as to kill many of their own by their fire. It was here that Lieut. Ferguson received a mortal wound, Ayers, and Luther were killed, and Morehead, Ross and John and Isaac Clarke, Frank Renchin, Lewis Snell and others wounded.

The officers attempted to form the regiment and cut our way through the rebel lines. Col. Woods fell with three severe wounds, Captain Edginton,³⁴ as senior officer on the field, assumed command.

The men were mixed up with other commands, and the enemy's fire was so constant and destructive that it was found impossible to form and maintain an organization. All the while the men kept a constant fire on the enemy, and a veritable Babel ensued. The camp was one vast slaughter pen, and it is apparent that it is only a question of a little time when all must fall. One could walk all over that hill on dead bodies some places two deep. Some of the wounded were praying, some cursing and other screaming with pain. It was an awful sight; once seen never to be forgotten. Two rebel officers approached and demanded an immediate surrender. After some parleying the command or rather the remnants of many commands surrendered prisoners of war to Generals Polk and Hardee³⁵ about 15 minutes before 6 o'clock P. M. on April 6th, 1862. Captain Edginton surrendered his sword to General Polk who returned the salute with it and then handed it back to him. Company D surrendered reluctantly. Some of the men refused to lay down their arms and continued firing. Private Aaron A. Stewart probably fired the last shot. Private Eli King and B. P. Zuver and others smashed their guns around the trees and cut up their accoutrements, but nothing else could be done. Reluctantly all laid down their arms. A large force of rebels was employed in gathering up the prisoners and in taking them to the rear, there being captured at this place the survivors of the 8th, 12th and 14th Iowa, and 58th Illinois bodily, and fragments of many other commands that had been caught in the trap when the rebels, finding that they were unable to

³⁴ Samuel R. Edginton of Eldora, Capt. of Co. A, 12th Iowa. *Roster and Record*, 2:452.

³⁵ Maj. Gen. Leonidas Polk and Maj. Gen. William J. Hardee of the Confederate Army.

dislodge the Iowa brigades from their positions, had flanked and surrounded them and cut them off from the remainder of the army. Those who were able to walk away, unharmed and wounded, were started immediately to the rear, and those too much disabled to be moved, crawled into tents, if they were able or had anyone to aid them, many to die.³⁶

First Lieut. Jason D. Ferguson, Company D, was mortally wounded about the time of the surrender. He was brave and patriotic, fearless and intrepid, and although he went into the fight with a presentiment, amounting to a certainty in his mind that it would be his last battle, he never flinched but was brave and cool and the last to shrink from any duty or danger; and when struck he knew his time had come, yet was cheerful and composed, and asked that his friend and comrade, Nathan Gardner Price, be left with him in his last moments. This request by Captain Stibbs was granted by a rebel officer, and Price remained in charge of a young rebel who was to bring Price as his prisoner when Lieut. Ferguson was moved to some hospital. Lieut. Ferguson survived until the next morning and until after the tide of battle had turned, and the rebels had been driven from the 3rd Iowa camp, and the serried ranks in blue had passed beyond "Hell's Hollow," and the "Hornet's Nest." He died on Monday morning inside our lines near the landing.

The story of that night and the incidents of the morning is best told in the words of that brave, heroic soldier, Nathan G. Price, who during all the years of the war proved himself worthy of the intimacy and comradeship of the lamented Ferguson, which was prepared by him at the request of the committee:

NATHAN G. PRICE'S REMINISCENCES OF SHILOH

All was confusion and disorder when we first arrived in the tents of the 3rd Iowa. Officers were forming lines here and there, and no two acting in concert. Our only field officer present, Col. Woods, was wounded in three places, and no one seemed able to bring order out of the confusion. All seemed to be doing their best to form a line, and cut our way out, and I now believe we could have done it, and would have done it two years later, or even one year. Suddenly, to me at least, we had surrendered, and I began to look for Company D boys. I found a number of them with Captain

³⁶ For the experiences of the captured men of the 12th Iowa, see the section of the Soper manuscript already published: Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons, 1862."

Stibbs. The first thing I heard was the Captain telling some one to stay with Ferguson. I asked if he was hurt and requested that I might be the one to stay. The Captain consented and turning to a rebel officer, who was riding by, asked him for his consent. The Officer replied "Certainly," anything for him, or similar words, and turning to a young, neat, tidy-looking rebel, said, "John, you stay with this man to take care of that wounded Lieut. until he is taken to a hospital and then report with him to me."

He took me to Ferguson where I found several of Company D, one or two rebel officers and others. Sam Bumgardner was cutting the ball out of his back. The operation was soon performed, and the ball handed to Ferguson who looked at it a few moments and then gave it to me to be sent to his father with other articles he had handed to me during the day. Before the prisoners were taken to the rear several of us carried Ferguson to another tent and placed him on a cot. . . .

I spent the night mostly with Ferguson. The young Reb was busy all night with the other wounded, and several times he called to me to go with him to a spring after water. We would carry two or three camp kettles full and then he would give it to the boys. The night was long, dark and dismal. It rained most of the time, but if I remember rightly it ceased and cleared off just before day. The shots from the Gunboats mostly went either to the left of, or over us. Only one I believe burst near us. In fact I don't remember of paying much attention to them. The camp under the circumstances was still and quiet. Now and then a muffled groan or sob could be heard or a question asked or answered.

We all thought the whole army was either captured or had retreated down the river to Savannah, and that we were doomed to a rebel hospital to linger and hope through the neglect and abuse of the enemy, no telling how long, and in all probability to die uncared for, our death unknown to our friends, and our burial unrecorded. This despairing painful effort to read the dark and dismal future hushed every moan, stifled every sob, and eased the suffering of the painful present. . . .

The young "Reb" and myself were the only men in sight in any direction who were able to walk; dead and wounded, blue and gray were to be seen on all sides. In some places nearly all blue, in other places nearly all gray. . . . [At daybreak] I saw a small squad of the enemy coming from towards the landing and near the edge of the camp, stepping back into the tent I told the boys what I had seen, and stood by the entrance holding with

one hand to the tent pole. I heard some one asking the inmates of a neighboring tent if any there were able to walk. In an instant I saw myself dragged away from Ferguson and alone with the enemy. . . . I don't remember how it was done, but I found myself lying in a pool of bloody water on the floor of the tent with a bloody blanket wrapped about me. A Rebel Lieut. stood in the door and asked if any were able to walk; I answered with a groan: none were able to walk, and he withdrew. I lay there for some time. I could see the legs of a large body of the enemy, probably a regiment and more as they marched by from the direction of the landing. In a very few minutes the battle of Shiloh again opened. Several charges of grape and cannister crashed through the tents, and soon everything was again still, and I ventured out. You can imagine the joyous revulsions of feelings when I beheld a long continuous line of true blue on, or very near, the ground on which the solid line of campact gray had stood when we came up out of "Hell's Hollow."

Hurrying back into the tent I told Ferguson, and then went through the camp telling all the good news. Soon I heard the voice of Col. Woods calling "Company D." I found him lying with Frank Renchin, and several others in an Officers tent. He was wounded in three places and could not stand. He asked the situation and then insisted on my taking him inside of our lines. He was in quite a hurry about it; and would not even let me tell Ferguson where I was going. I got him up and on my back in some way and carried him about 300 yards to the right oblique, to a group of Officers at a house near the corner of the field in which the camp was, and left him in their care, while I returned to poor Ferguson. When I got back Ferguson began begging me to get help for him. As soon as our troops advanced past us Ferguson insisted upon my going back to our camp and getting help to take him there. I finally started and on my way I met one of the 7th Iowa band boys belonging to the ambulance corps. I told him my errand and tried to get him to get an ambulance and go back with me, but I could not persuade him as he had orders in another direction. He gave me part of his ribbon and with this as a pass I had no trouble in getting by the guards and back to the camp, which I found entirely deserted; so I started back to poor Ferguson, trying all the way to get help but everyone was too busy to answer me civilly. When I got back every wounded man had been taken to the landing and not a living man was in sight. . . .

The fighting in front was now terrible. Off on what was our right flank

the day before it was one continuous rolling roar. Not a single shot could be discerned, but a heavy, dead rumbling rolling sound that seemed to rise and fall, spread and contract. The effect of that sound on my nerves was similar to that of rough water. I heard that noise with the same feelings that I saw the tide on the gulf coast. I seemed to feel that swaying sensation. The report of Artillery was only a dull heavy thud, thud, thud, while the yellowish white and blue smoke rolled upward, roll after roll, in heavy majestic folds amid the tree tops until the sun looked like a large red ball and cast no shadow. I was awe struck and wondered if our firing had so sounded to others the day before. An impulse seized me to go to the front, for I now realized that our army was not whipped, as we all thought the night before. I was entirely alone and knew that the majority of my friends were either killed, wounded or on their way to prison, and I had no idea where those we left in camp were.

When we surrendered I stuck my gun, muzzle down, into a barrel of beans and threw in my accoutrements. Some one had thrown a blanket, coat or something else over all, and I found everything dry and in good shape. Hastily wiping out by gun, I started out into the road just as one of Buell's³⁷ Regiments was marching by.

The major met me and asked me several questions as to what I was doing there, and where I belonged, &c., &c., all of which I answered fully and told him what I intended to do. He gave me a word of praise and encouragement; took my name and address and said that I was welcome to fight with them if I wished to. I stepped in by the side of a little Sergeant on the extreme left of the regiment and soon we were in line of battle on the very ground the 14th Iowa had occupied the day before. The fighting was now terrible along the line to the right and left of us, but we were idle. Soon a Cannon shot crashed through the top of a large oak tree, cutting off a large limb which fell on and pinned several of us to the ground. The little Sergeant, with whom I was getting well acquainted, was badly hurt and carried back insensible. Two others besides myself were slightly injured. I at the time was on my right knee; my left foot solid on the ground and holding my gun at a ready. The main trunk of the limb fell across my thigh about midway between knee and hip; the hurt was not very painful at the time, and

³⁷ Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell, in command of the Army of the Ohio, had arrived with his troops on the evening of April 6. With these reinforcements, Grant was able to defeat the Confederates on April 7.

never has been, but caused numbness in the thigh, which has remained with me ever since and caused me more trouble than the wound which I afterwards received at Corinth.

Soon the command came to advance, which we did promptly through the dense, thick heavy timber on the left of the field which we fronted the day before. We went toward and passed the farther side of that field and a little beyond it. Our line was solid clear across the field and to the left and right as far as I could see. We moved slowly with skirmishers out and kept our line compact. For the first fifty or seventy-five yards of our advance, the dead enemy almost touched each other, and were very numerous the next hundred yards, while the fence corner on the left of the field, where we delivered our left oblique fire on Sunday, was piled full. They actually lay on each other. Surely the 8th, 12th, and 14th Iowa more than balanced accounts that day; for the enemy lost more men in front of those three regiments than they killed, wounded or captured from them.

After passing the field a short distance we found the rebel skirmishers and halted to dress up the lines when we were ordered to charge. We fired as we advanced, the enemy disputed every inch of ground, and the Regiment I was with lost heavily. We crowded them slowly down and along a sloping hill, on the top of which they made a firm stand. We halted at the foot of the hill to dress up the line which extended as far either way as we could discern. Just as we got our lines dressed, we heard heavy firing to the front left oblique and we were ordered to charge. The enemy must have been ordered to retreat for they did not fire a shot. We rushed to the top of the hill, and kept on through the timber fifty or sixty yards to a large field and saw the rebs nearing the timber on the further side running like so many sheep, and the blue coats on their left rear flank hurrying them along. We kept on across the field, re-formed our lines and took a rest for about an hour.

Everything was still except the rumbling of artillery wheels as they moved by on the road to the right of us and occasionally shots away in the constantly growing more distant front. Finally we were ordered to move by the right flank and came to a deep road, filed left and moved forward to the front. It was generally understood that the enemy was in full retreat to Corinth, and as my leg was quite painful and stiff, I bid the boys Goodbye, when we came to the road, turned to the right and started to the landing. . . .

I got to the camp in the evening just about used up. Most of the boys who had not been out to battle, and some of those who, wounded, had escaped, were there, and a sad and sorrowful looking set they were. I appeared to them as one from the dead, and brought the first news from the Company since early in the afternoon of the day before. I believe I am the only man of the regiment who fought through both days of that battle, and one of four who went out that bright Sunday morning and who returned to the camp with a whole hide. Nelson Rhalston [Rolsten] of Co. F ran the gauntlet where we surrendered; he had his clothes riddled but got through unhurt. Sergeant James Little of Co. K was sent back with others for ammunition; he saw the danger and struck for camp, while his companions brought us the ammunition with which we fought on our retreat. . . .

[To be continued]

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 229 new members during the months of January, February, and March. Seven Life Members added during these months were: Carl Weber, Iowa City; Mathew Hart, Davenport; C. W. Antes, West Union; Gregory Brunk, Des Moines; Mrs. Martha Brunk, Des Moines; Mrs. Clark R. Caldwell, Iowa City; and C. Leon Riegel, Davenport.

The Daughters of the American Revolution have presented to the Society 108 volumes of their *Lineage Book*, plus cumulative indexes through Vol. 160. Missing are volumes numbered 1 through 43, 124 through 138, 153, and all volumes issued after number 166. The presentation was made by Mrs. C. W. Maplethorpe of Toledo, Iowa, state consulting registrar of the D. A. R.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

February 10	Addressed Cedar Rapids Women's Club
February 12	Addressed Muscatine Business and Professional Women

Iowa Historical Activities

The Iowa Railway Historical Museum has been organized at Center-ville, with the following officers: Wilson B. Lemberger of Weaver, president; James Levis of Waterloo, vice-president; and Elmer Carr of Ottumwa, secretary-treasurer. The Museum's purpose will be to "promote interest in railroad transportation, to acquire and display documents, operating equipment and memorabilia of railways of all sorts." The Waterloo, Cedar Falls & Northern Railway Company has presented the Museum with an interurban car and the Southern Iowa Railway has given pieces of equipment.

The centennial of Iowa State College at Ames began on March 22. Leaders in science, industry, education, and world affairs took part in the celebration. Academic symposia were held for three days to mark the Founders' Day ceremonies. Other celebrations of the one hundred years of the College's existence will take place at Veishea and at commencement ceremonies in June.

A large wooden eagle which once was part of the steamboat *Gray Eagle* and is now the property of the Davenport Public Museum has been sent to Brussels to be part of the exhibition of American Primitive Art at the 1958 World's Fair. The eagle has a wing spread of 54 inches and weighs 320 pounds. It was carved from a single block of oak in Cincinnati in 1845 for the prow of the *Gray Eagle* and was later used on the *Helen Blair*.

Fort Atkinson state park near Decorah will be improved this spring by beginning the restoration of the stone barracks on the site. At present there are four of the original buildings and one rebuilt structure in the park, and the restoration of the stone barracks will add considerably to the park's interest. The fort, built in 1840 to protect the Indians, was occupied for nine years before the soldiers stationed there moved northward to Minnesota. The National Park Service, the State Historical Society of Iowa, and Luther College are cooperating on the research to make the restoration of the barracks authentic.

The thirty-sixth annual History Conference was held at the State University of Iowa in Iowa City on April 11-12, 1958. Papers were read by Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University; William A. Williams of the University of Wisconsin; and Jack H. Hexter of Washington University.

An All-College Conference on International Affairs was held at Iowa State Teachers College in Cedar Falls on April 21-23, 1958. The general topic of the sessions was "Germany and the Fate of Europe," and addresses were made by representatives of the British, German, Yugoslavian, French, Polish, and Russian embassies. In addition, Mr. Robert Creel of the United States Department of State and Mr. Graham Hovey of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* spoke at the closing session.

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Articles

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"The Dodge-Henry Controversy," by William T. Hagan, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Winter, 1957.

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"The Earliest Map of Cincinnati (1792)," by Arthur G. King, *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, October, 1957.

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"The Adoption of Minnesota's Direct Primary Law," by Clarence J. Hein, *ibid.*

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"Cleveland's Johnson: First Term," by Eugene C. Murdoch, *ibid.*

Railroads

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CONTENTS

Iowa Politics and the Compromise of 1850	<i>Morton M. Rosenberg</i>	193
Document: Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866 — Part II	<i>Edited by Mildred Throne</i>	207
Source Material of Iowa History: A Burlington Editor Comments on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858		275
Historical Activities		281
Historical Publications		285

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COVER

The Siege of Vicksburg. From *Harper's Weekly*, July 25, 1863.

IOWA POLITICS AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

*By Morton M. Rosenberg**

America in 1850 was the scene of a fierce political fight whose battle-grounds extended beyond the legislative chambers of Congress. The struggle was a sectional one between the mutually antagonistic North and South, but complicated by the intrusion of important Western factors: California clamored for admission into the Union as a free state, and Utah and New Mexico pressed for territorial status. To add further to the already difficult and complex situation, Texas insisted on certain adjustments, both financial and territorial, while the South as a unit demanded some sort of aid in retrieving runaway slaves, fleeing from bondage in ever increasing numbers. On its part, the North was equally insistent that those barbarous eyesores, the slave auctions and markets, be eliminated from the nation's capital. Any of these urgent matters would have been sufficient to inflame tempers in both sections. Already the sectional controversy had so far advanced that any bill in Congress sponsored by one side seemed assured of being opposed by the other.

Amid the warring passions Henry Clay introduced the bills which he earnestly hoped would soothe ruffled feelings and furnish an equitable settlement to the problems confronting the country. Others, notably Stephen A. Douglas, hammered out the legislation which contemporaries and history alike dubbed the Compromise of 1850.

While Iowa reflected to some degree the issues which then stirred the nation, the Hawkeye State had its own problems to consider. The year 1850 was an important election year for Iowans. A new Governor, a new General Assembly, other state officers, as well as Representatives from the state's two congressional districts, were to be selected in the coming elections. As an added item of attraction politically, a special election was also to be held during the year to fill an unexpired term in Congress from the First Congressional District, an investigating committee in the House of

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Representatives having declared the seat vacant. Control of the machinery of government in the state rested with the elections.

When Henry Clay introduced his proposed compromise resolutions into the United States Senate in late January, 1850, he gave the Democratic party in Iowa the vital political ammunition needed for the ensuing electoral campaign. Democratic party leaders, as subsequent events would soon demonstrate, intended to exert all their energy and talents to secure the success of the Compromise, support of which became the cardinal tenet in the Democratic program of 1850.

Quick to take a cue, the Democratic state convention assembled to nominate candidates as well as to provide the voting public with a statement of its principles. The platform wholeheartedly endorsed the compromise bills as introduced into the Senate and hoped for the success of the measures.¹

While giving its traditional approval to the retiring state Democratic administration, the platform condemned the national administration principally because it was in the hands of the opposition party. Certain removals of Democrats from state offices and the subsequent appointment of Whigs to succeed them stung many of the party leaders who gave expression to their feelings in the platform of their party.

On the question of internal improvements, that tested rallying call of the Whig party, the Democrats inserted a plank into their platform calling the attention of the voters to the action of the Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing, who had recently declared illegal Iowa's title to a portion of the original Des Moines River Land Grant which the state had received during the late forties. Ewing ordered that the land should revert to federal jurisdiction.² To be sure, Ewing was a Whig in a Whig administration.

Finally, the state Democratic platform called for universal support of the party's nominees for the state offices and for the two congressional seats. To succeed the retiring Democratic governor, Ansel Briggs, the convention nominated Stephen Hempstead. George W. McCleary was named for Secretary of State, while William Pattie and Israel Kister obtained the convention's approval for Auditor and Treasurer, respectively.

Hempstead's nomination for the gubernatorial chair was a wise move. As a native of New England he would appeal to the Northern element in

¹ Roy V. Sherman, "Political Party Platforms in Iowa" (unpublished M.A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1926), 106-110.

² *Iowa City Republican*, June 5, 1850.

the state; as a loyal Democrat he would receive the support of the Southern group. His was a record of long service to the state, dating back to 1838 when he had won election to the First Legislative Assembly of Iowa Territory. Thus, Hempstead's nomination was a fitting reward for loyal service to the Democratic party as well as to the people of Iowa.³

The Democratic press applauded the selection of Stephen Hempstead as his party's standard bearer. The Democratic *Burlington Gazette*, perhaps one of the two or three most influential papers in the state, hailed Hempstead as a man of "talent . . . and valuable experience. Possessed of enlarged and comprehensive views . . . his nomination . . . gives general satisfaction."⁴

The Whig party, striving to wrest the state away from the Democrats for the first time, held its convention in May.⁵ The Whigs nominated James Harlan for Governor, Isaac Cook for Secretary of State, William H. Seevers for Auditor, and Evan Jay for Treasurer. Harlan, not yet thirty years old, a native of Illinois, and recently arrived in the state, later declined the nomination because of his age.⁶ (According to the state constitution, a Governor has to be thirty years old at the time of the election. Harlan would not reach that age until eleven days after the election.) His withdrawal forced the Whig executive committee to make a substitute nomination one month later in the person of James L. Thompson of Johnson County.⁷

The Whig platform betrays evidence of a divided organization which leaned very strongly to, or was dominated by, the free-soil or antislavery elements in the party. The platform contained a forceful plank on "Free Men, Free Territory, and Free States."⁸ This same sentiment found reflection in the plank dealing with the compromise bills in the Senate. While calling for the immediate admission of California into the Union as a free

³ Benjamin F. Shambaugh (ed.), *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa* (7 vols., Iowa City, 1903-1905), 1:423-4.

⁴ *Burlington Gazette*, June 19, 1850.

⁵ *Iowa City Republican*, Jan. 9, Apr. 7, 1850.

⁶ James Harlan to Whig State Executive Committee, May 25, 1850, published in *ibid.*, May 29, 1850.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 29, July 3, 1850; the *Dubuque Tribune* described Thompson as "an exemplary Christian, a friend to more liberal constitutional provisions in behalf of companies chartered within the State for objects of Public Improvement, and a tiller of the soil." *Iowa City Republican*, July 24, 1850.

⁸ Sherman, "Political Party Platforms in Iowa," 110-12.

state, the platform remained awkwardly silent on the other compromise resolutions. Perhaps silence provided the only solution for the unfortunate dilemma facing the Whigs. To condemn the other measures would be tantamount to a disavowal of the national party stalwarts, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. On the other hand, unqualified endorsement of the bills would have brought abuse from the free-soil wing of the party.

Other planks in the Whig platform lauded the administration of Zachary Taylor and called for the election of a Whig Congress to sustain his program. Another plank demanded an amendment of the Iowa constitution which had been pretty much a Democratic creation. At this early date, however, such an appeal fell upon deaf ears, but within a year or two, it would receive a wider endorsement. On the matter of internal improvements the Whigs, for reasons best known to themselves, said absolutely nothing.

Thus the Whigs prepared to wage political battle with their heretofore victorious opponents armed with a slate of candidates weakened by the withdrawal of their principal nominee, and with a platform distinguished mainly by its irresolute position on the most popular issues of the day. For the Whig party the battle would be an uphill struggle.

For Congress, the Democrats of the First Congressional District, which embraced the southern half of Iowa, nominated, with a minimum of haggling, Bernhart Henn, a native of New York and a resident of Iowa since its territorial days.⁹ His Whig opponent was George C. Wright, an Indiana native.¹⁰

In the Second Congressional District, covering the northern portion of the state, but including the southeastern counties down as far as Des Moines County, the Whigs nominated William H. Henderson,¹¹ who was to conduct his campaign on the basis of the time-honored Whig tenets of internal improvements and high tariff, accompanied by a general condemnation of slavery.¹² To run against him, the Democrats designated Lincoln Clark of Dubuque at their June district convention, but not without a good deal of

⁹ Burlington *Gazette*, June 5, 1850; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), 1299.

¹⁰ Iowa City *Republican*, Apr. 17, 1850; Edward Stiles, "Prominent Men of Early Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (3rd ser.), 10:255 (January-April, 1912).

¹¹ Iowa City *Republican*, June 26, 1850.

¹² Dubuque *Telegraph*, quoted in *ibid.*, July 11, 1850.

internal bickering and a long session of balloting.¹³ The representatives from central Iowa, principally those from Johnson, Scott, and Cedar counties, opposed the party's first choice from Dubuque, Judge Thomas Wilson. With Muscatine and Des Moines counties casting the deciding ballots, Lincoln Clark emerged as the "compromise" candidate of the convention.¹⁴ Nevertheless, several bitterly disappointed delegates from central Iowa delivered hostile speeches to the convention, condemning the Dubuque party leadership.¹⁵ Clark's selection, however, was a popular one in the District as a whole.

Lincoln Clark, a native of Massachusetts, had made something of a name for himself in Alabama before moving to Iowa in 1848.¹⁶ It was, perhaps, his residence in that slaveholding state which prompted one of the leading Whig papers in the state to brand Clark as a man "too deeply tainted with a love for the music of the lash, the clanking chains, and the heavy sighs and groans of slavery, to receive the aid and comfort of a freeman's vote."¹⁷

The resolutions adopted by the Democratic Second District convention followed the lead of the state party platform in warmly approving the compromise measures pending before Congress. A plank likewise condemned Interior Secretary Ewing's decision concerning the Des Moines River Land Grant. Finally, the platform called for future donations of land to the state for use in internal improvements.¹⁸ The latter was a cry that would become very popular in Iowa during the coming years, especially in connection with railroad construction.

A third party to enter the field was the small but vocal Free Soil party, officially known as the Free Democracy, which campaigned chiefly upon an antislavery platform and had little else to offer to the voters. Formed in 1848 in time to run candidates in the elections of that year, the Iowa Free Soilers, practically all of whom were abolitionists, included among their numbers remnants of the old Liberty party and some antislavery Democrats,

¹³ *Burlington Gazette*, May 15, June 12, 1850.

¹⁴ James Grant to Laurel Summers, June 15, 1850, *Laurel Summers Correspondence* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

¹⁵ *Davenport Gazette*, June 13, 1850.

¹⁶ *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 982.

¹⁷ *Iowa City Republican*, July 31, 1850.

¹⁸ *Burlington Gazette*, June 12, 1850.

but chiefly men with Whig antecedents. Leaders of the Free Soil group included William Penn Clarke, Jonathan W. Cattell, George Shedd, and Samuel A. Howe who edited the organ of the party, the *Iowa True Democrat*, at Mount Pleasant. Later Reverend Asa Turner and George Magoun assumed positions of leadership in the organization.¹⁹

Since the Whigs, too, cherished known antislavery sympathies and, indeed, counted among their supporters many who would have done better to wear the label of the Free Soilers, there was some talk of a union or coalition between the two parties. No fusion occurred, for the Whigs demanded as their price for cooperation, let alone union or coalition, unqualified support from the Free Soilers. The latter, however, did not intend to drop its own slate of candidates.²⁰

The Free Soil party entered candidates for all of the state offices as well as for the congressional seats. William Penn Clarke carried his party's banner in the gubernatorial contest. Born in Maryland, Clarke had emigrated to Iowa in 1844 by way of Pennsylvania and Ohio. A former Whig, he aided the cause of that party until he formally joined the Free Soilers in 1848. He was an appropriate choice, particularly in view of his later efforts on behalf of John Brown and the Free State men in Kansas during the middle of the decade of the 1850's. No more ardent antislavery advocate could be found in Iowa than Clarke.²¹ To run for the congressional seats, the Free Soilers picked George Shedd for the Second District and John H. Dayton for the First District. Neither individual ever rose to any position of political prominence in Iowa.

The voters in the First Congressional District were also asked in 1850 to select a Representative at a special election to be held in September to fill out the term of William Thompson, who had lost his seat by the ruling of a special investigating committee in the House of Representatives.²² The controversy over Thompson's seat dated back to 1848, when he had won a narrow victory over his Whig opponent, Daniel F. Miller. The latter immediately protested the election. The original quarrel involved the legality

¹⁹ Theodore C. Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York, 1897), 157, 216-19, 266, 321.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 218; *Davenport Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1850.

²¹ Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:53; Erik McKinley Eriksson, "William Penn Clarke," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 25:4-9, 38 (January, 1927).

²² *Iowa City Republican*, Sept. 18, 1850.

of certain electoral returns in Pottawattamie County, the right of the Mormons to vote, and charges concerning stolen election ledgers.²³ The House of Representatives, unable or unwilling to decide the argument on the merits of the evidence presented, had merely declared the seat vacant after procrastinating over the issue for more than a year. Both Thompson and Miller again opposed each other for the short term of Congress that remained.²⁴

One Delazon Smith, however, complicated the Democratic side by refusing to accept the verdict of the special convention which had nominated Thompson again. Smith decided to run as an independent candidate for the post. Whether he really believed he could win is, of course, unknown, but his candidacy caused the Democrats no little concern. He was a man of good speaking ability and possessed of a fine political personality. That the Democrats worried about Smith is best evidenced in the virulence of the attacks which appeared in the Democratic press, one such organ christening him "Delusion" Smith.²⁵

Once the various contesting parties had selected their candidates and published their platforms, they began to campaign in earnest. The Democrats had only one issue to carry to the voters of Iowa. This they proceeded to do with energy and efficiency. The leaders of the party believed that the people were very much alarmed over the growing bitterness which had been increasing between the sections during the past several years. They believed, too, that Iowans desired nothing more than to preserve the Union and to restore harmony to the nation as a whole. Finally, they believed that virtually everyone in the state, save the most fanatic, was enthusiastic over the compromise measures designed to allay the erupting passions which threatened to destroy the Union. Hence, when the Democrats determined to stake their bid for office almost exclusively on the single issue of the Compromise of 1850, they felt quite certain that such a maneuver would be a popular one with the voters and nonvoters alike.²⁶

While the extremists in the North and South raged and fumed, the mod-

²³ *Muscatine Journal*, July 20, 1850, quoted in Louis B. Schmidt, "The Miller-Thompson Election Contest," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 12:121 (January, 1914).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 121-3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 124; *Burlington Gazette*, Aug. 28, 1850.

²⁶ David S. Sparks, "The Decline of the Democratic Party in Iowa, 1850-1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:9-10 (January, 1955); *New York Daily Times*, Oct. 23, 1851.

erate leaders from both sections struggled to discover the formula which might resolve the controversial issues to the mutual satisfaction of both sides. The press in Iowa sincerely prayed that some "master spirit" would cool hostile tempers so that harmony once again could be restored to the councils of the government. One journal called upon the "Great West" to settle the quarrel which the other sections seemed incapable of deciding.²⁷

An editorial which appeared in the columns of the influential Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* best expressed the position of the Iowa Democracy on the Compromise. In a note of careful restraint, the editor advised his readers that,

Every good citizen should overlook the little of evil that may result, and be satisfied with the vast amount of good to flow from a definite and permanent adjustment of questions which have always proved too much for American equanimity.²⁸

The "little of evil" undoubtedly referred to one of the measures drawn up to placate the interests of the South, a bill which became the Fugitive Slave Act. This law provided that slaveowners pursuing their fleeing charges into the free states could demand and expect to receive aid from the local federal and state authorities in the redemption of their fugitive property. Another section stipulated that anyone aiding and abetting a fugitive slave would be liable to fine and imprisonment.²⁹ The law was drafted to eliminate one of the chief sources of grievance which the South harbored against the North, for Northern collusion with the escaping Negroes was causing serious financial losses to Southern slave masters.

Nevertheless, the Fugitive Slave Act provoked most of the opposition to the compromise measures. Of the other acts, those dealing with the admission of California into the Union as a free state, the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the organization of Utah and New Mexico as territories, the settlement of the financial and boundary claims of Texas — these acts Iowans accepted with little or no animosity. Indeed, many had long clamored for California's admission as a free state. Still, at least one journal charged that a coalition of Northern and Southern Senators had deliberately impeded the admission of California by introducing

²⁷ Council Bluffs *Frontier Guardian*, Mar. 6, 1850; Iowa City *Republican*, May 15, 1850.

²⁸ Muscatine *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, May 30, 1850.

²⁹ 9 U. S. Statutes at Large, 462-5.

other issues, or by granting needless concessions to the South.³⁰ Apparently the Fugitive Slave Act was one of these "needless concessions" to slavery.

Newspaper opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law was not, however, unanimous. While one editor raged about a "scheme of infamy," others found nothing wrong with the act, and announced themselves as "utterly opposed to open, organized resistance" to the measure. They cautioned the North against advocating contravention to a lawful enactment, lest the Union be destroyed and the states subjected to a bath "in American Blood."³¹

In the United States Senate, Iowa's Democratic Senators, Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones, worked indefatigably to secure the passage of all five of the compromise resolutions originally introduced by Henry Clay. Jones, declaring his opposition to slavery in principle, nevertheless defended the right of the institution to exist where "the constitutions and laws of my country have placed it." Still, he would strive with all his power "to give quietus to this distracting question." Thus, since "the bill now before us will effect that object . . . I shall record my vote for it with unmixed pleasure."³²

Dodge likewise took his place beside the supporters of all the compromise measures including the Fugitive Slave Act. Concerning the latter, Dodge declared without hesitation or equivocation that "the southern states and people have a right to the enjoyment of their property, and to the security and protection guaranteed to it and to them under the Federal Constitution; and neither my State nor its Representatives seek to interfere with either." While he could not state without reservation that the laws would be "destined to effect the good results which those who voted for them intended," he believed that "they have done good, are doing good, and should be religiously lived up to and carried out in good faith."³³

Both Dodge and Jones blamed a few fanatics for trying to obstruct the beneficial operation of the Compromise, in general, and of the Fugitive Slave Act, in particular. Jones attributed the so-called evils of slavery more to the fanaticism of the Free Soilers and abolitionists than to any actual suffering endured by the slaves themselves. Dodge severely took to task those

³⁰ *Iowa City Republican*, May 15, 1850.

³¹ *Ibid.*, May 15, Nov. 6, 1850; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Nov. 14, 1850.

³² *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 1716.

³³ *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, 310.

who sought to induce slaves to flee from their bondage and then ceased to care for the fugitive Negroes.³⁴

The actual voting in the Senate on the various compromise proposals clearly demonstrated that the Democrats more consistently and more faithfully backed the measures than did the Whigs. Moreover, Iowa's Senators favored all the bills on every ballot. Only Sam Houston of Texas and Daniel Sturgeon of Pennsylvania, Democrats, and John Wales of Delaware, Whig, could boast of similar voting records. Eight other Senators cast ballots approving of four of the acts and abstained from voting for a fifth. Thus only thirteen Senators gave what could be termed full support to the Compromise of 1850.³⁵

While Whig opposition nationally was more pronounced than that of the Democrats, in Iowa the Whigs could do nothing but express general approval of the legislation or remain silent. The Whig party organ in Burlington, for example, averred:

We wish to express no opposition to the general features of Mr. Clay's plan. It is our wish as much as his to put an end to all causes of future disquiet among our people. Perhaps there are some portions that we might not entirely agree to — but as a whole, we would be willing to see them adopted rather than matters should remain in their present condition.³⁶

This same journal even went so far as to praise the work of Senator Dodge on behalf of the Compromise. Indeed, the paper included all of Dodge's congressional colleagues from Iowa, all Democrats, in its general commendation of their labors.³⁷

Other Whig papers also applauded the compromise bills, for with their passage "all fears of a dissolution of the Union or of a hostile coalition between any of its members will doubtless cease, and, we trust, peace, harmony, and fraternal feelings will again be the order of the day."³⁸ Actually the Whig press had little choice but to accept the Compromise, for it was,

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 1716; *ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, 311.

³⁵ Holman Hamilton, "Democratic Senate Leadership and the Compromise of 1850," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 41:407-409 (December, 1954); Roy F. Nichols, *The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* (New York, 1923), 82; *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 382.

³⁶ Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, June 13, 1850.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1850.

³⁸ Iowa City *Republican*, Sept. 25, 1850.

perhaps, one of the most popular issues ever introduced into Iowa politics, at least up to that time.³⁹ Nor did the Democrats refrain from accepting the plaudits of the public for the measures, regardless of the fact that they had originated in the fertile mind of Henry Clay.

While the Democrats sought to achieve victory by promoting the Compromise, the Whigs vainly attempted to remind Iowans that they ought to consider other issues during the campaign. For one thing, as the Whigs pointed out, the Democrats had been in control of the national government for the better part of twenty years and of the machinery of the state government since its existence as a territory.⁴⁰ The state of Iowa ought to be "redeemed from that thralldom under which she has groaned ever since her existence," wrote one editor.⁴¹ Furthermore, Whig government would be safer than Democratic government: the latter "exhibits a recklessness of character, tending to unwarrantable extremes that endanger the peace and prosperity of the nation," was the opinion of another.⁴²

Other Whig papers rehashed the old issue of internal improvements or demanded an amendment to the state constitution. After all, these editors asserted, the Whigs had long advocated the use of federal funds to clear away the barriers obstructing internal commerce throughout the nation and in Iowa. Yet the Democrats continued to vote down such proposals, either through congressional action or by presidential veto.⁴³

The Whigs also attacked Iowa's congressional delegation in an attempt to demonstrate that Iowans in Congress were too prone to accept the position of the South on the question of slavery.⁴⁴ Here, clearly, was a maneuver to capture the votes of the Free Soilers as well as of Democrats who opposed the "peculiar institution" on moral grounds.

But the efforts of the Whigs to inject their favorite issues into the campaign, to divert attention from the popular Compromise, and to malign

³⁹ David S. Sparks, "The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1848 to 1860" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951), 52.

⁴⁰ Iowa City *Republican*, July 3, 1850.

⁴¹ Dubuque *Telegraph*, quoted in *ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1850.

⁴² Council Bluffs *Frontier Guardian*, May 29, 1850.

⁴³ Cincinnati *Gazette*, quoted in Iowa City *Republican*, Jan. 16, 1850. Iowa's Democratic congressional delegation labored zealously to procure federal funds to aid projects of internal improvements, especially river and harbor improvements. *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 210.

⁴⁴ Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Feb. 7, July 25, Nov. 21, 1850.

Iowa's Democratic officials proved useless in comparison with the great national crisis which the Compromise seemed destined to resolve. The cry of internal improvements, of amending the state constitution simply could not compete effectively with the impregnable Compromise as a campaign issue. In the end the polls told the story.

The fifth day of August, 1850, was the day of reckoning for the various candidates. Some 25,500 voters went to the polls to cast their ballots. Once again, as in previous elections in Iowa, the Democrats carried the day. Their success, however, could by no means be termed overwhelming, for the margins of victory received by the successful candidates were relatively narrow in virtually all instances. Nevertheless, the Democratic sweep of the offices at stake was complete.⁴⁵

In the gubernatorial contest Stephen Hempstead defeated his substitute Whig rival, James L. Thompson, by a vote of 13,486 to 11,452. Free Soiler William Penn Clarke ran a poor third with but 570 votes, more than 300 of which came in the three southeastern counties of Lee, Henry, and Washington. Hempstead's final tally represented 52.85 per cent of the total votes cast, while Thompson received 44.88 per cent and Clarke a mere 2.23 per cent.⁴⁶

In the congressional race in the First District, which contained a somewhat larger voting population than that of the Second District, Bernhart Henn eked out a narrow victory over his Whig opponent George G. Wright. The former received 7,437 votes to the latter's 6,985 votes. George Shedd brought up the rear with 301 votes, most of which he won in Henry and Lee counties. Henn's percentage was a slim 50.51 per cent of the total votes recorded. Wright attracted 47.44 per cent, and Shedd's total netted him 2.04 per cent. A shift of less than 230 votes from Henn to Wright would have cost the former the victory.⁴⁷

In the contest held in the Second Congressional District the picture was far more favorable for the Democratic aspirant Lincoln Clark. Clark polled 5,745 votes, while his Whig rival, William H. Henderson, received 4,775 votes. John Day, the Free Soil entry, scraped together 107 votes in his

⁴⁵ The election returns from which the percentage statistics were compiled are on file in the office of the Secretary of State in the Capitol Building in Des Moines, and are entered in a ledger entitled *Election Records, 1848-1860*. A microfilm copy of these returns is on file at the library of the State University of Iowa at Iowa City.

⁴⁶ *Jdem.*

⁴⁷ *Jdem.*

hopeless quest for office. Clark's 53.73 per cent of the total votes was the highest for his party in the important races. Henderson attracted 44.66 per cent of the total, but Dayton had to console himself with but 1 per cent.⁴⁸

The extent of the Democratic sweep, albeit on the basis of slender margins, is best illustrated in the returns of the races for the General Assembly. Here the Democratic achievement was no less than overwhelming. Of the nineteen Senate vacancies, the Democrats captured thirteen, while in the balloting for Iowa's lower house, the Democrats took thirty-five of the thirty-nine seats in that branch of the legislature.⁴⁹

In the election contests for the other state offices, the Democrats attracted totals very much in keeping with that won by Hempstead. The honor of heading the Democratic list with the most votes fell to the newly elected Auditor of State, William Pattie, who received 13,529 ballots.⁵⁰

The following month, September 24, witnessed the run-off election between William Thompson, Daniel Miller, and Delazon Smith. Although only a few months remained in the unexpired term, and although the Democrats had already captured the seat for the coming full term, interest in the election was surprisingly strong. Nevertheless, for what it may have been worth to him as a moral victory if nothing else, Miller defeated his Democratic opponent by a vote of 5,463 to 4,801. Smith received 365 votes. Since more than 2,600 voters had remained away from the polls, Miller's task was somewhat lightened and his success somewhat tarnished.⁵¹

On a county-by-county basis, Hempstead carried all but ten of the forty-two counties which returned votes. His party's congressional candidates fared almost as well, taking twenty-nine of the forty-two counties. The only two counties in western Iowa that went to the Whigs were Fremont and Pottawattamie, both of which shifted to the Democratic ranks in later elections.

The Free Soil party, while failing to carry a single county in any of the contests, rolled up its largest totals in Henry, Washington, Lee, Louisa,

⁴⁸ *Idem*. Running independently, one Alex McEad received 63 votes from Washington County and two votes from Johnson County.

⁴⁹ Louis Pelzer, "The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of Iowa, 1846-1857," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 6:192 (April, 1908).

⁵⁰ *Election Records*.

⁵¹ *Idem*. A comparison of the results of the regular election with the returns of the special election reveals that the Democratic totals decreased by 2,636 at the special election. Whig totals declined only 1,529 for the same contest.

Linn, and Jones counties. In Henry and Washington counties especially, the Free Soilers attracted more than 10 per cent of the votes recorded there. These counties contained not only large settlements of southern-born Whigs, but also sizable communities of Quakers whose antislavery impulse was exceedingly strong. Many of the latter were already beginning to make local reputations for themselves as operators of the Underground Railroad. Hence, Free Soil sympathy could be expected to be intense in this region of the state.

For the state as a whole, it is difficult to discern any significant voting patterns, for the Democrats in 1850 displayed considerable strength in all sections of Iowa. Areas exhibiting heaviest Democratic voting returns were concentrated in the central counties bordering on the Mississippi River, along the western fringes of settlement inland from the Missouri River, and along the Iowa border counties just north of Missouri. Generally speaking, the Democrats averaged about 53 to 55 per cent of the total votes in most of the counties.

The Compromise of 1850, more than any other issue or combination of issues, enabled the Democratic party of Iowa to retain its power in the state. Astute Democratic politicians, correctly analyzing the pre-election sentiment of the voters, had parlayed the popular compromise measures to another Iowa party triumph. In 1850 the people of Iowa were not especially aroused by moral arguments directed against the existence of slavery in the United States, although most would have opposed any further geographic extension of the "peculiar institution." But they were deeply and immediately concerned about the preservation of a harmonious Federal Union which extremists in the North and South threatened. The compromise measures, and the Democratic party which had so resolutely supported them, held out the promise of restoring peace again to the nation. On these grounds, then, Iowa voters gave Democratic candidates their support in 1850, as they would also in 1851, 1852, and 1853 for similar reasons. Not until 1854, following the furor created by the Kansas-Nebraska legislation, did Iowans, feeling a sense of betrayal by the Democrats, begin to shift their allegiance to another political party in a state-wide election.

DOCUMENT

ERASTUS B. SOPER'S HISTORY OF COMPANY D, 12TH IOWA INFANTRY, 1861-1866

*Edited by Mildred Throne**

Part II

The first installment of this "History" appeared in the April, 1958, issue of the JOURNAL, and contained the experiences of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, from enlistment through the battle of Shiloh on April 6-7, 1862. In that battle some 400 men of the 12th Iowa were captured, 50 of them from Company D. The 8th and 14th Iowa were also captured, in addition to most of the 58th Illinois. Their experiences in rebel prisons have already been published.¹

Following the battle of Shiloh, the remnants of the four captured regiments were organized into the "Union Brigade," and as such they served in various campaigns until their comrades were exchanged and returned to the Union service in March of 1863, when the 12th Iowa was reorganized.

The following installment of Soper's "History" recounts the experiences of the Union Brigade; the reorganization of the 12th Iowa after the return of the prisoners; the participation of the regiment in the siege of Vicksburg; at the battle of Jackson, Mississippi, in July, 1863; at the battle of Tupelo, Mississippi, in July, 1864; on various marches and expeditions after Forrest and Price in Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas; and closes with the return of a footsore regiment to St. Louis in November, 1864.

IN THE UNION BRIGADE

By those of Company D who remained in the camp, the evening of that fated Sunday will never be forgotten.² Wasted by diarrhoea and dispirited by the horde of stragglers that streamed toward the river and the ever near-

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¹ Mildred Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons, 1862," IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY, 54:67-88 (January, 1956).

² This refers to Sunday, April 6, 1862, the first day of the battle of Shiloh.

ing roar of battle, the exploding of the enemy's shells in the camp about sunset caused those who were able to crawl, to gather up their blankets and seek shelter in the deep ravines below the tents, where many spent a miserable night on the wet ground, sheltered from the pouring rain by a rubber blanket; but when the morning light showed that no rebels were in sight, all who during the night had not ventured back, returned. But they were a sorry lot. No tidings had yet arrived of the fate of our comrades, and we could only fear the worst. Later in the day, when some of the wounded who had escaped or been abandoned by the enemy came in, the facts were learned, and those able to travel sought with varying success for the bodies of bunkmates among the killed on the battlefield, and wounded comrades among the multitudes [were] brought to the landing by the ambulance corps.

. . .

A few days later the wounded and those too sick to remain in camp were sent North and there remained of the seventy men of Co. D who came to Pittsburg Landing only Sergeants Soper and Blood, Corporals Cowell and Prescott, and Privates Bunn, Blanchard, Gilchrist, Lambert, John and Enos Watrobeck.³ These took possession of the officers and Company tents and made themselves as comfortable as possible. Blood, Cowell and Prescott were the news gatherers and made daily trips to the landing and reported the daily arrivals of new troops and the latest rumors as to what was to be done with the remnants of the captured regiments. The weather became fine; we had nothing to do, plenty to eat, and a good deal of time was spent visiting acquaintances and friends in other Iowa regiments.

In this way, nearly three weeks slipped by, when about the 27th of April, 1862, there came from head-quarters, a general order creating an aggregation called the "Union Brigade,"⁴ composed of the remnants of the captured regiments, viz: 8th, 12th and 14th Iowa and 58th Illinois, and designating the 12th Iowa as Company E, and constituting it as one of the ten companies composing the organization; each of the other regiments having about three

³ Full names of these men are Erastus B. Soper, the author of most of this "History," Alvaro C. Blood, Robert C. Cowell, Theodore L. Prescott, Andrew J. Bunn, Allen M. Blanchard, William B. Gilchrist, John B. Lambert, and John and Enos Watrobeck. See *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 2:passim. (Hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*.)

⁴ The "Union Brigade" was organized April 21, 1862, by Gen. Thomas A. Davies, who commanded the 2nd Division of the Army of the Tennessee. See "Historical Sketch of the Union Brigade," *ibid.*, 5:1577-81.

times as many men, were divided into three Companies each, the whole constituting ten Companies each officered by a Commissioned officer acting as Captain and Commissioned or non-commissioned officers acting as Lieutenants. There being no field officers left, Capt. [R. W.] Healey of the 58th Illinois was designated as acting Colonel, Capt. [J. B.] Fowler of the 12th Iowa, acting Lieutenant Colonel, and Capt. [G. W.] Kittle of the 58th Illinois acting Major. The organization being perfected (not, however, without "kicking" as we had been led frequently to expect that we would have been sent North to recruit, and were much disheartened), and the unnecessary baggage and camp equipments having been turned over to the Quartermaster Department, on the 29th of April, 1862, the Union Brigade, with the balance of the 2nd Division, broke camp and moved forward about nine miles toward Corinth, where we formed the advance line, with every other man holding two rifles and his mate industriously using the shovel or ax and relieving each other every few minutes, a strong line of rifle pits was speedily constructed; the crack of rifles on skirmish lines hastening the work.⁵

The next day the whole Army was mustered for pay except the Union Brigade whose rolls were not made out. As each Company in each Regiment of the organization had to be mustered separately, and many of the Companies had no officers or non-commissioned officers competent to do the work, Sergt. Soper of Company D made out the rolls for the three Companies of the 12th Iowa. As all the men had to be carried on the rolls, whether present or absent; the dead, sick, wounded and missing accounted for, and three copies of each roll made, the task was no light one, but was finally accomplished and the Regiment mustered.

For thirty days the "advance on Corinth" continued. Some days our line, or portions of it, would be thrown forward a mile or two and sometimes we would remain two or three days in one place; but never without being well fortified. Frequently we stood or sat all day under arms, and customarily slept with our belts and cartridge boxes on, and our guns by our sides, and not infrequently in the trenches.

⁵ Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck had come from St. Louis to superintend the advance on Corinth, Miss., following the Confederate retreat after the battle of Shiloh. The movement toward Corinth began April 29. With the memory of the lack of fortifications at Shiloh fresh in their minds, and with Halleck, the engineer, in charge, the troops moved slowly, fortifying with rifle pits and breastworks at each stop. Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1949-1956), 3:406.

On the 29th of May, 1862, our lines were within one half mile of the rebel fortifications. During that night, unusual noises were heard by our pickets, followed, near morning, by a series of explosions. When day-light appeared and our pickets advanced, the rebel lines were found deserted.⁶

A pursuit followed, the Union Brigade marching down the Mobile and Ohio Railroad through Danville and Rienzi to Booneville, Mississippi, returning to camp near Corinth on June 13th, 1862. The distance marched did not exceed one hundred miles and the time consumed was about two weeks. The campaign was a leisurely one. . . .

In this campaign, Company D had no casualties, although it looked many times as if there would be. During the six weeks immediately following the leaving of Pittsburg Landing, the light work and warm sun and dry air of a Mississippi May and June worked wonders with the health of the Command. Not a boy in Company D, who participated, failed to get rid of the diarrhoea and stay rid of it the balance of the time he served. There is nothing like moderate work to make and keep soldiers healthy.

When the pursuit of the enemy was abandoned, the Federal Army was scattered; the forces remaining about Corinth going into camps for the summer in convenient localities. Hackleman's Brigade,⁷ to which the Union Brigade was attached, went into camp about three miles south of Corinth on the Mobile and Ohio Road, where the entire Brigade remained from the 13th of June until about the 15th day of August, 1862. . . .

When the forces of Price and Van Dorn⁸ began to concentrate in Mississippi, the Union forces were dispersed and posted at convenient points to meet and watch their movements. The Union Brigade was sent to Danville, about ten miles south of Corinth on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, where, under Lieut. Col. [John P.] Coulter of the 12th Iowa Infantry Volunteers, it acted as an independent command, and where it remained until the first day of October. . . .

⁶ The Confederate forces evacuated Corinth during the night of May 29-30, after destroying their stores and provisions. *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. X, Part I, 667-8. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)

⁷ Brig. Gen. Pleasant A. Hackleman, in command of the 1st Brigade of the 2nd Division of the Army of West Tennessee. His Brigade consisted of the 52nd Ill., the 2nd and 7th Iowa, and the Union Brigade, made up of detachments of the 58th Ill., 8th, 12th, and 14th Iowa. *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 175.

⁸ Confederate Major Generals Sterling Price and Earl Van Dorn.

The Battle of Iuka was fought on the 19th of September;⁹ before and after that rebel cavalry was occasionally seen and shots exchanged with our pickets, but no attack on us was made, though we were in a constant state of expectation and readiness. On October 2nd orders came to break camp and abandon the post and report at Corinth, and on the same evening, we marched as far as across the Tuscumbia river, where we halted for the night, and the following morning, after destroying the bridge over that stream, resumed our march to rejoin Hackleman's Brigade at Camp Montgomery. No August day was ever hotter and no roads ever drier or dustier. The men were not used to marching, and the opportunities for getting water were few, but after a hard and fatiguing march, in which many of the men were left overcome with heat, Corinth was reached, when we were ordered out on the Chewalla road where our Brigade was engaged retarding the advance of the enemy.¹⁰

At this time the Union Brigade formed a part of the 1st Brigade, commanded by Gen. Hackleman of Indiana, of the 2nd Division commanded by Gen. J. A. Davies of the Army of the Tennessee. This Division was charged with the duty of holding in check the advance of Price and Van Dorn's forces until the troops at Iuka and other points around could be concentrated at Corinth. Marching out on the Chewalla road, we met the Division retiring before the enemy, and taking our place in our Brigade, we formed a line of battle a mile or more outside the fortifications between the two railroads that cross each other at Corinth and northwest of the town, and throwing ourselves upon the ground, we awaited the attack.

The Union Brigade was formed on the edge of the timber just behind an open field. Soon the rebel batteries began shelling the woods, and branches

⁹ On July 11 Halleck had been promoted to general of the armies and had left for Washington, leaving Grant in command in this area. Grant's forces had been depleted by sending Buell and the Army of the Ohio eastward to Chattanooga, and by spreading and diminishing the forces at his command over too wide an area. Taking advantage of this, Price occupied Iuka, some miles east of Corinth, on Sept. 13. Efforts of Brig. Gen. W. S. Rosecrans to retake the town failed in the battle of Iuka on Sept. 19, partly because a strong wind carried the sounds of battle away from the reinforcements Grant was sending, who were supposed to attack upon hearing the sounds of gunfire. On the following day, however, Rosecrans entered Iuka, Price having retreated after his success of the 19th. See *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:392-403, 406-416. (Hereafter cited as Grant, *Memoirs*.)

¹⁰ Grant had to draw all his forces back into Corinth when it became apparent that the Confederates were planning an attack on that stronghold. The battle of Corinth took place on Oct. 3-4, 1862. *Ibid.*, 1:414-19.

of trees and pieces of shell flew around in the wildest confusion. During this time an incident occurred that we, all of Company D who were present, will remember. There was a private in the Company named Andrew Jackson Bunn, but unlike his illustrious namesake, his courage disappeared when the enemy appeared. He dropped out of the ranks at Donelson and Shiloh and skulked, and the non-commissioned officers determined that he should face the enemy, and the Sergeants were watching him. Nevertheless as the lines of the enemy appeared, the shrieks of the bursting shells were too much, and Bunn started for the rear as fast as his legs would carry him. At the cry "there goes Jack Bunn," a long legged Sergeant took after him, and after a short race collared and began dragging him back to the line. Just then a shell exploded, and Bunn screamed "I'm shot; I'm shot," and begged piteously to be allowed to go. The skeptical Sergeant was only convinced by the torn blouse and bleeding shoulder that he had been hit, and when released, Bunn lost no time in getting to the rear. During his whole term of service, this was the nearest Bunn ever came to getting into a fight.¹¹

The enemy advanced in two unbroken and continuous lines of battle, extending to the right and left as far as the eye could reach and extending far beyond our line, the extreme left of which was occupied by the Union Brigade. We poured volley after volley into the advancing lines with seemingly little effect, as they continued to advance, and when they were closing in upon us in front and flank and the veteran Regiments to our left had broken, the Union Brigade, not wishing to join their comrades bad enough to be willing to do so in Southern prisons, fell back, about as fast as their legs would carry them, through the woods, into the abatis and thence within the fortifications, where the survivors of the command slowly gathered. There was left of Company D on the field, Sergt. Edward W. Calder, killed, shot through the head and bowels, and private Allen M. Blanchard, wounded and taken prisoner.¹²

¹¹ Andrew J. Bunn, eighteen at the time of his enlistment, remained with Co. D, in spite of his fear of battle, until December, 1864, when he was court martialled and dishonorably discharged. *Roster and Record*, 2:428. Soper's comment on Bunn, in his listing of the later life of the members of Co. D, was uncomplimentary: "Bummed around Cedar Rapids till prohibition came then left for Missouri. Never any more account in civil life than as a soldier."

¹² Blanchard's own account of his capture and imprisonment will appear at the end of the last installment of this "History."

The rebel forces made some reconnaissance and there was some desultory fighting, but no serious attack was made. The work of the 2nd Division had been accomplished. Toward evening, hard tack and raw onions were dispensed to all who wanted them, and the tired and hungry soldiers made on them a most enjoyable meal; after which, stretched upon the earth beside the loaded rifles, with cartridge box for pillows and the clear sky for a covering, a dreamless sleep restored exhausted nature.

During the night dispositions were made for the coming battle and positions assigned the several commands. About four o'clock in the morning, the Union Brigade was aroused and marched to its position further to the right, and near where the road from Pittsburg Landing entered the town. Here we lay in line of battle awaiting the approach of the enemy. Morning came, coffee was sipped and hard tack eaten; still they delayed. Finally between nine and ten o'clock, the heavy guns of Fort Robinet opened fire. We knew then that the enemy was advancing to the assault. Soon the Forts and their surroundings were enveloped in smoke, and in our front the lines of gray are seen advancing from the woods, and with breathless expectation, we watched them slowly approach. Soon to the right and left of us the firing begins on the advancing foe, when they spring forward to the charge with the rebel yell, when the whole Union front became a line of fire; still forward they press until within a few yards of our front, when the line gives way, the color banner falls; another seizes and holds aloft the standard of the Union Brigade, only to fall, when Orderly Sergt. John D. Cole of Company B seizes the flag and plants it in front of the now rallying line, only to fall, shot through the lungs, when Private Isaac G. Clark of Company D rescues and waves aloft the flag which he proudly carries forward, as the line moves forward in pursuit of the retreating foe. The rebels are repulsed at every point; the battles around Corinth are over, and the Army moves in pursuit of the vanquished foe. In the two days' fight the Union Brigade was badly punished. Of less than four hundred men engaged, eight were known to have been killed on the field, eighty-six wounded, of whom a number died, and eighteen were reported missing, many of whom were killed or died of wounds in rebel hands. Company D had twelve men actually in the fight, of whom six were killed or wounded.¹³

. . .

¹³ Hackleman's Brigade reported 403 casualties in the battle, of whom 49 were killed, 318 wounded, and 36 captured or missing. The killed included Hackleman

When the troops were absent in pursuit of the enemy, the baggage and convalescents of the 3rd Brigade were ordered into camp on the old site of Camp Montgomery, and the Union Brigade occupied its old ground. Two days after, an attack was made on the camp by a very considerable force of rebel cavalry. But as the large part of the Union Brigade had not joined in the pursuit of Price, they found it hotter than they had anticipated, and without pillaging the camp, beat a hasty retreat, leaving several men and horses shot down. Although the attack was a complete surprise, yet the men fought for their camp as they had for their flag.¹⁴ The same evening orders were received to remove the camp within the fortifications. When the pursuit of Price and Van Dorn was abandoned, the 2nd Division returned to Corinth as its garrison, where the Union Brigade remained during the remainder of its existence, doing picket duty and working on the entrenchments; after the battle, a new and less extensive line of work having been laid out, including, however, the principal forts. During this time, Sergt. Soper, who had made out the rolls and kept up the records of the Company since the battle of Shiloh, and who previously to the battle of Corinth had acted as Sergt. Major and afterwards as Commissary Sergeant of the Union Brigade, received from the Governor of Iowa a commission as 2nd Lieutenant of Company D, and was assigned to the command of one of the 14th Iowa Companies.

Finally, after long waiting, the anxiously expected order came, on December 7th, 1862,¹⁵ dissolving the Union Brigade and ordering its return home to join the exchanged prisoners and reorganize their old Regiments, and on the 18th with light hearts and thoughts of Merry Christmas at home, we gaily marched to the Depot and boarded the cars for the north.

Arriving at Jackson, Tennessee, about eleven A. M. we found consternation. Of the Union Brigade, 9 men were killed, 84 wounded, and 16 missing or captured, for a total of 109. The 12th Iowa lost 4 killed, 28 wounded, and 7 missing or captured, a total of 39. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 175.

¹⁴ In Gen. Davies' report on the battle of Corinth and its aftermath, he quotes the following report from H. F. Olds, wagonmaster of the Union Brigade: "Sunday evening, October 5, about 3 o'clock, a party of guerrillas, numbering about 100, made an attack upon the camp of the Union Brigade. There was at the time a number of convalescents and teamsters in the camp. I arrived in camp just as the news came that they were coming. We rallied about 18 men and repulsed them, killing 4 and wounding 3 others." *Ibid.*, 261-2.

¹⁵ The date is wrong here. The Union Brigade was dissolved and sent home for reorganization on December 17, 1862. *Roster and Record*, 2:410; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 300.

tion and commotion. Forrest¹⁶ was on a raid. North of Jackson, the telegraph wires were cut, and that night the track torn up and bridges burnt, and an attack was hourly expected, and we were ordered to disembark and assist in the defense of the post, though had the train gone on, we might probably have got through. The disappointment was keen, but as there was no help for it, we climbed down and loaded our guns and were assigned an exposed position on the picket line. No attack came. After waiting impatiently for three days we were allowed to go north as the guard for the Engineer Corps and construction train to re-build the bridges and track which the rebels had destroyed. For two weeks and over we moved along with the bridge gang from stream to stream, across the swamp, counting the miles as so much nearer home; sleeping behind anything that broke the chilly wind, sheltered only by our blankets and overcoats. Finally the last bridge was reached, the river hastily crossed on the false work, and the boys swung out with rapid strides up the railroad track. That night we slept in the deserted buildings at Union City, a station on the railroad, and the next day, January 4th, 1863, we made Columbus, Kentucky, and that night we took a steamer for Cairo, arriving on the 5th, and the next train on the Illinois Central Railway bore us Davenportward, where we arrived on the 7th of January, and received from Adj. Gen. [Nathaniel B.] Baker a twenty day furlough and transportation to our several homes, arriving at Cedar Rapids January 10th, 1863, coming via Iowa City by rail and then by stage.

PAROLED PRISONERS FROM MACON, GEORGIA, TO ST. LOUIS

As soon as the prisoners on the Delett had arrived, the line of march for the depot of the West Point and Montgomery Railroad was taken.¹⁷ . . . The major in command treated the paroled prisoners as well as was possible, and will long be remembered kindly by them. A train of box cars was soon loaded, and about dark pulled out, arriving at West Point, Ga., just before daylight on the morning of the 23rd. Here we changed cars. The boys had an opportunity to look about the town and take a bath in the Chattahoochie

¹⁶ Confederate Brig. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest. See Lieut. Col. Coulter's report of this action, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Part I, 300-301; for Forrest's report, *ibid.*, 593.

¹⁷ The privates of the 12th Iowa, who had been captured at Shiloh, were paroled on May 22, 1862, at Montgomery, Ala., where they were taken from their prisons at Tuscaloosa, Ala., on the steamers *Delett* and *Cherokee*. Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 72-8.

River, of which many of them availed themselves. The words "All aboard" finally came and we were off for Atlanta, Ga., where we arrived about four P. M. Rations of bread and boiled beef were issued, which was the first palatable food we had received since April 9th, at Memphis, Tenn. The boys lounged around the depot until nearly dark, when they were put aboard a train of cars, and while standing on a side track, were stoned by a mob, but which soon ceased after the major ordered his guards to fire upon them. About 10 P. M. the train pulled out Northward on the State of Georgia Railroad through a country made memorable and historical by Gen. Sherman's Atlanta Campaign, and over a line of railways which a short time before had been the scene of the remarkable raid of the heroic Andrews and his intrepid followers.¹⁸

At 3:30 P. M. on the afternoon of the 24th of May, the train arrived at Chattanooga and was unloaded, and the paroled prisoners marched to the city and quartered in a vacant hotel building. Messes of twenty each were formed, and rations consisting of what, in Iowa, would be called ground feed — some kind of meat, species doubtful, black peas, etc. — were issued. A supply of "Dutch ovens" was also furnished, and the boys had the option to bake, boil or fry. No salt, however. Considerable liberty was allowed the boys, and conversations with the guard, citizens and rebel soldiers were freely indulged in. Some of the boys found a Union man who took them home and gave them several loaves of bread, which was shared with their comrades.

On the 26th, a squad of paroled prisoners from Macon, Ga., passed down the streets of Chattanooga toward the Tennessee River on their way home. On the morning of the 27th Tuscaloosa and Montgomery prisoners were put on board a train of cars on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, and sent down to Bridgeport, Ala., where the railroad bridge over the Tennessee had been destroyed by the Union army. . . .

During the run down to Bridgeport, the train broke in two, and while

¹⁸ In early April, a Union spy, James J. Andrews, and 23 men from three Ohio regiments, had stolen a train at Marietta, Ga., intending to run it through Chattanooga and then westward to meet the forces of Maj. Gen. Ormsby M. Mitchel, burning the bridges as they went to cut off Chattanooga from the south and enable Mitchel to take the city. The venture failed just south of Chattanooga. Andrews and seven of his men were hanged; six escaped, and six more were captured but exchanged. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 3:400-404. A recent account of this exploit is a book by Charles O'Neill, *Wild Train, The Story of the Andrews Raiders* (New York, 1956).

repairs were being made, the boys scattered over the hills. Some of the 12th Iowa boys stumbled upon and recognized Quarter Master [Joseph B.] Dorr and Lieut. [John] Elwell, of Company E, who were passing themselves off as privates, instead of two men whom they had procured to take their names and places in prison.¹⁹ . . . These officers both begged silence and non-recognition, which was gladly conceded. Still fearing recognition and a return to prison, they did not return to the cars, but crossed the Tennessee River and arrived safely within the Union lines. . . .

We remained at Bridgeport the remainder of the 27th and all day the 28th, bathing in the river and feeding on parched corn and wild mulberries. On the morning of the 29th the prisoners names were called for embarkation on the small steamer "Paint Rock." Finally the major calls "C. C. A. E. T. Stribbling." The man answers "Here," and mounts the gang-plank, when the major demands his full name. "Christopher Columbus Alvarado Ebenezer Thomas Stribbling," is the answer. Roars of laughter from guards and prisoners follow. This name did not come from Iowa, but belonged to a Tennessean who enlisted in Company F a few days before the battle of Shiloh.²⁰ The Montgomery squad failed to get on the Paint Rock and were ordered to remain until the next trip, but the boat did not return for them, and they were sent back to Chattanooga under pretence of being sent to the Federal lines via the way of Cumberland Gap, but when they arrived there they were placed under strong guard and sent back to Macon, Ga., where four more months of prison life sent forty per cent of their number to the Confederate prison's burial trenches. Why the Government was so averse to receiving paroled prisoners at this time is hard to understand, but such was the fact, and it was with difficulty that Gen. Mitchell [sic] could be prevailed upon to receive any of them.²¹

The Paint Rock descended the Tennessee thirty miles to Bellefont Landing, when the prisoners disembarked and set out on a march to Bellefont

¹⁹ The officers captured at Shiloh were still in Southern prisons and would not be released until some months later.

²⁰ This man is listed as Christopher C. A. T. Stribling in *Roster and Record*, 2:530.

²¹ Maj. Gen. O. M. Mitchel at Huntsville, Ala., found it difficult to feed so many paroled prisoners. On May 30 he reported to Gen. Don Carlos Buell that 1,400 prisoners taken at Shiloh had been sent to him. (The total number of Union men missing or captured after the battle was 2,885.) He found them in a "deplorable condition," and since his own supplies were short, it was impossible to feed "such a large body of men unannounced." *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. III, 610.

Station on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad five miles distant, and in a strip of country foraged by both but claimed to be held by neither army. There was nothing to eat, and the boys began scouring the country. Some even set out to walk to the Union lines. The major procured a hand-car and ran down the Railroad, but returned without much comfort. The Macon squad had been received, and why the delay in receiving the Tuscaloosa squad? Many rumors and conjectures of not a complimentary character were indulged in but all were probably wide of the mark, as Gen. Mitchell was doubtless acting under orders from Washington in the matter. To the paroled prisoners it seem a question of life or death whether or not they should be received. But all anxiety was removed on the morning of May 30th, 1862, when a train of cars from towards Huntsville, Ala., arrived with a detachment of the 10th Wisconsin Infantry, who soon established a post and received the prisoners, who, without delay, boarded the train, which was soon pulled out, and the boys are once again under the Stars and Stripes, free, FREE! Those who have not felt the joyousness of such a moment cannot tell of the emotions! About 3 P. M. the train pulled into Huntsville, where the paroled prisoners became the guests of the 3rd and 10th Ohio Infantry, and were by them royally entertained. . . .

On the morning of the 31st, the paroled prisoners were directed to proceed to the depot for the purpose of taking the train for Nashville. Passing through the town by a mammoth spring of clear, pure water, the cars are reached and mounted, only to be told that they would have to march. This news gave a chill to the weak, half-starved men. At this point Quarter Master Dorr of the 12th Iowa appeared and privately made known to the boys that he had procured a few mules and wagons and would take charge of the paroled prisoners. The men were formed in lines. Those who could drive four and six mule teams with a single line were selected, and the balance moved forward on the Nashville Road. The mule drivers captured the mules running on the common, harnessed them with old traps of harness, hitched them to old government wagons, and were soon following. Out of the ten wagons constituting the train, four had drivers from Company D. J. W. Burch proved to be the crack mule-whacker of the lot, but [Patrick] Brennan, [Benjamin J.] Hill and [Byron P.] Zuver combined made a fair showing. A company of the 10th Ohio Infantry and a Cavalry Company guarding a train loaded with cotton, convoyed the outfit. Elk River was crossed at Elkton about noon, where we struck a macadamized road, and

that night camped in a corn field twenty-seven miles from Huntsville. The next day, June 1st, we marched twenty-two miles and June 2nd, twenty-one miles through Ellistown and Pulaski. When about six miles out from Pulaski, Quarter Master Dorr requested Zuver to return to that place and pick up stragglers. The task was dangerous and little relished, but was done. The next day, June 3rd, a halt was made at Columbia, Tennessee, on the banks of the Duck River, after marching fifteen miles, and at dark that evening, [we] took the cars on the Louisville, Nashville & Great Southern Railroad, arriving at Nashville at 11 P. M., where we remained until the next day, when we were marched to the fair grounds and quartered in the amphitheatre. A clear little creek ran through the enclosure, and with plenty of soap, water and leisure, the boys soon rid themselves of the dirt and graybacks in their ragged clothing. On the 10th of June, drew clothing, and on the 11th went into camp outside the fair grounds, which the boys named Camp Jackson, in honor of "Old Hickory." . . .

While at Camp Jackson, guards were stationed around the camp, to keep the boys in. Why, no one ever seemed to know. Some suggested that because of scanty clothing, the boys were not fit to go out. But Company D boys were not to be kept in. Some Colonel had presented our Masonic comrade [Robinson L.] Johnson with a pair of pants. The guard saluted him as an officer, and Johnson had fifteen of the Company fall in and he marched them through the guard and down to the city on the pretence that they had been detailed for duty down in the city, and so the time passed.

On the 25th of June an attack upon the city was threatened, and the commandant had the paroled camp interviewed, to learn if they would fight if the place was attacked. Receiving a negative answer,²² he obtained an order for their removal. On the night of the 29th orders came to start for Louisville the next morning. Before daylight, breakfast was dispatched, and the boys at the train on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, which they boarded as soon as made up, and soon were on their way, crossing the Cumberland on the first train over the new bridge built in place of the one destroyed by the rebels when they evacuated the place. Arriving at Louisville during the night, and before daylight on July 1st, were marched to the

²² Until officially "exchanged," prisoners who had been "paroled" were pledged not to "bear arms or aid or abet the enemy of said Confederate States . . . either directly or indirectly in any form whatever, until regularly exchanged, or otherwise discharged." For this reason, the paroled prisoners felt justified in refusing to fight, or even to stand guard. Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 78.

levee and put on board the fine steamer "Atlanta," which, at 3 P. M., slowly dropped down the broad Ohio and turned its prow down stream, passing, among other places, Smithland and Paducah, old acquaintances of the 12th Iowa, and arrived at Cairo, Ill., about 6 P. M. of the second. . . .

On the 3rd, the paroled prisoners disembarked from the Atlanta, and were placed in some old, deserted, lousy barracks, back in the swamp in which the town is built. Gen. Stone, the commandant of the Post, threatened dire things because the boys refused to perform guard duty, but he did not do anything.

In this hot and malarious camp, July 4th, 1862, was spent, without enthusiasm, or celebration of any kind, in great discomfort. The days dragged wearily along until the afternoon of the 9th, when the paroled prisoners were put on board the steamer "Southwestern," and taken up the Mississippi to St. Louis, glad enough to get away from Cairo and its swamp, levees and houses and sidewalks built on trestles, landing about dark on the 10th. Upon landing, the boys found themselves under strong guard composed of the Dutch state militia, who supposed they were guarding rebel prisoners, which made the boys mad and full of Old Nick, and on the march to Benton Barracks, they cut up such pranks as overturning apple carts, peanut stands, cigar store signs, etc., to the consternation of the citizens, frenzy of the guards, and the encouragement of rebel sympathizers. When the fair grounds within the enclosure was reached, the guards could no longer restrain them. With a yell, the 12th Iowa, knowing where the best barracks were, broke for quarters, and soon settled to a night's repose without taps. On the 11th, rations were issued to the boys in old style. For convenience, the paroled prisoners were organized into battalions. The 12th Iowa was formed into one Company C, 1st Battalion, and elected Eli King Captain, and E. A. Buttolph Orderly Sergeant, both of Company D, and Seth Macy, Company A, Commissary.

When the paroled prisoners arrived at Benton Barracks, Colonel Bonneville,²³ an officer of the regular army, of frontier fame, was in command, and a Capt. Brown of the 23rd Missouri, with his Company I, constituted the guard. They determined that the paroled prisoners should stand guard,

²³ Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, the noted French explorer, born in 1796, had served in the American army for years, taking part in the Mexican War. In 1861 he returned to the army and at this time was serving at Benton Barracks. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:438.

and for several days made regular details from the several Companies, but the details went under, instead of on, guard. This proving a failure, the Companies, as such, were detailed for guard duty. Company A was first detailed, and then Company B, both 8th Iowa men, and they complied and did duty. Company C, 12th Iowa men, were next detailed, but they refused under the leadership of King and Zuver, and defied Capt. Brown and his guards, taunting him with his running record at Shiloh, and daring him to shoot, and finally driving him and his command by stoning them with pieces of coal. Company C did not go on guard that day. Company E, 14th Iowa, were next detailed and went on guard, as did also Company E, composed of Wisconsin men, but the 58th Illinois boys refused for many weeks, and were kept under guard. At the next detail, of Company C, 12th Iowa boys, they went on guard, and probably would have done so at first had it not been for the taunts of the 8th Iowa, who boasted that the 12th Iowa would never dare to refuse as long as they had gone on guard. The trouble arose from the different constructions of the parole. The paroled prisoners claimed that standing guard over the camp was a violation of their parole. The officers who were in command claimed that it was not. . . .

On July 26th, Col. Bonneville was relieved of the command of the Barracks, and Major McChennis of Iowa put in command, and Gen. Frank P. Blair made a speech to the boys in which he sought to mollify them, but they hooted him. On the 27th Lieut. D. B. Henderson,²⁴ Company C, 12th Iowa, called on the boys on his way to join the Union Brigade. He was the first officer of the regiment which the boys had seen since they were paroled.

About this time, furloughs having been denied the boys, they began taking "French leave" but not many left until after August 10th, when each of the paroled prisoners were paid \$50.00. The boys left singly, by twos, threes and squads, and in a short time the 12th Iowa was reduced from 138 to 40, and remained at about this number, some going, others returning. But none were reported by King and Zuver as having deserted or being absent without leave, and of course the full complement of rations had to be drawn, which enabled those remaining in camp, by sale of the surplus, to supply their tables with the best the markets afforded. On August 17th, the 18th Iowa arrived at St. Louis, followed by the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd,

²⁴ David B. Henderson of Dubuque, later to serve in Congress for many years and as Speaker of the House from 1899 to 1903.

and 23rd in order, and by other regiments from Iowa up to and including the 40th Infantry, as well as troops from other states, which were distributed to various points down the river. On the second Tuesday in October, the paroled prisoners of the 12th Iowa voted at the Iowa state election, casting 38 Republican and 3 Democratic votes, showing 41 present.

On the second of November, 1862, a squad of 200 paroled prisoners, including seven of the 12th Iowa, and among them Allen M. Blanchard of Company D, captured at Corinth, arrived at Benton Barracks. Blanchard wore, in the battle, a steel vest, and when the bullet struck, it knocked him breathless, and he was reported killed, and when his body could not be found, then wounded and missing.

On the 9th of November, 1862, Capt. [John H.] Stibbs,²⁵ of Company D, arrived at Benton Barracks with the remainder of the survivors of the Shiloh prisoners. The officers of the 12th were paroled at Aiken's Landing, Va., on the 13th of October, 1862, and arrived at Washington, D. C., on the 15th, and were granted leave of absence. The enlisted men were paroled at Castle Thunder, Richmond, Va., October 17th, 1862, and delivered to their friends at City Point, and thence sent to Parole Camp at Annapolis, Md. As soon as Capt. Stibbs, who was visiting at his home in Wooster, Ohio, heard of their parole, he went to Washington and through political and military influences he was able to command, procured an order for the transfer of the paroled prisoners of the 12th Iowa to Benton Barracks, and went to Annapolis and accompanied them to St. Louis. Many were sick, and this timely action on the part of the Captain was greatly appreciated.

When the paroled prisoners arrived from Annapolis the 12th Iowa was organized into two Companies, the members of Companies D, F, G, H and I being Company C, and those of A, B, C, E and K forming Company H, First Battalion Paroled Prisoners. No furloughs were ever granted the paroled prisoners, although frequently promised. The officers went direct to their homes on leave. The men remained at Benton Barracks or took French leave, as they chose. Every member of the Company visited his home and probably every paroled prisoner in the regiment did the same. On the 16th of November, General Prentiss²⁶ visited the paroled prisoners, shook hands

²⁵ For Capt. John H. Stibbs's experiences as a prisoner of war, see Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 78-88.

²⁶ Brig. Gen. Benjamin M. Prentiss, the highest ranking Union officer captured at Shiloh.

with the boys, and told them that he wanted to go to the front, having for his command only those regiments captured at Shiloh. . . .

The 12th Iowa were regularly exchanged in December, 1862, and the latter part of that month officers and men hastened to St. Louis to be present for muster for pay the 31st. On the morning of the 29th, Lieut. [Hiel] Hale and some thirty members of Company D left Cedar Rapids, arriving at Benton Barracks the 31st, in time for muster. A number of the Company being still absent, Capt. Stibbs issued the following order:

Headquarters 12th Iowa Infantry,
Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.

Jan. 2nd, 62.

All paroled prisoners belonging to Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, who are absent without leave, are hereby notified that they have been regularly exchanged and are ordered to report at these headquarters immediately or they will be considered as deserters. By order of

John H. Stibbs,
Captain, Company D,
12th Iowa Infy.

Nearly all of the paroled prisoners were absent on a furlough of their own taking when they were exchanged, and the order of Gen. Curtis²⁷ commanding the Department that all soldiers absent without leave, returning by January 1st, 1863, should have free transportation and no charges be preferred against them, had brought nearly all of them to St. Louis who intended to return and were able to do so. All of Company D reported except Jasper Wagner and Charles Fenerabend, who were marked deserters.

The officers were all present, the organization of paroled prisoners was disbanded, and the several Companies and Regiments re-formed, and the men supplied with arms and equipments and a thorough system of Company and Battalion drill inaugurated. All that was needed to make the organization complete was the Union Brigade which had been ordered to Davenport, Iowa.

REORGANIZATION AND THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

At the time when that portion of the regiment which had been in the Union Brigade was ordered to report to the Adjutant General of Iowa, it was doubtless the intention to send the exchanged prisoners there also, and

²⁷ Maj. Gen. Samuel Ryan Curtis of Iowa was appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri in September, 1862. A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), 45.

perfect the reorganization at home, but the winter passed in fruitless efforts on the part of Gov. Kirkwood and Adjutant General Baker to get this accomplished. When their furloughs expired, the boys returned to Davenport.

. . .

On the evening of the 4th of February, the non-commissioned officers and privates of Company D at St. Louis presented Capt. Stibbs and Lieut. Hale with elegant swords in place of them taken from them at Shiloh. The men were drawn up in line, the officers summoned from their quarters, ignorant of what awaited them, and upon their appearance, Private Zuver stepped forward and in a neat and telling speech made the presentation. The weapons were fine ones, having engraved on the hilt of each the name of the officer, with the words "Presented by Company D, 12th Iowa, February 3rd, 1863." . . .

Nothing of special moment transpired after this until the Union Brigade arrived. Daily drills were kept up, and Capt. Stibbs took special pains to perfect the Company in the manual of arms, bayonet exercises, and skirmish drill. The Company easily maintained its old time position as the best drilled Company in the regiment, and one of the best in the service. Ayers and S. R. Burch were champions in the bayonet exercises.

That portion of the regiment at Davenport did not receive their pay and orders to join the command at St. Louis until the latter part of March. The members of Company D who had served in the Union Brigade had a commissioned officer with them, and although he had lost no swords at Shiloh, they determined not to be outdone by the boys at St. Louis and so presented to Lieut. E. B. Soper a very fine sword and belt, with appropriate inscriptions on the hilt. The lieutenant was very much surprised as well as gratified by this testimonial, and while history is silent on the subject, yet being at Davenport and having just been paid off, it is believed that he "set 'em up" liberally to the boys.

On the 29th of March that portion of the 8th, 12th and 14th Iowa at Davenport left for St. Louis, arriving on the 31st, to the great joy of themselves and their comrades, from whom they had been separated since Shiloh. When the Company was re-united, and the records made up, it was found that the Company was reduced to 57 officers and men. . . .

On the 2nd of April, the regiment received orders to be ready to move at an hour's notice to join Gen. Grant near Vicksburg.²⁸ Arms, clothing

²⁸ Grant's campaign against Vicksburg had begun as long ago as Nov. 2, 1862,

and equipment were drawn and everything made ready for moving South. In the re-organization of the regiment, the several Companies were assigned positions in the regimental formation according to the rank of their Captains. Capt. [Samuel R.] Edgington [of Co. A], having been promoted to Major of the regiment, the Captain of Company B became the ranking Captain, that of Company C, the second, and Capt. Stibbs of Company D the third, which gave the position of color Company to Company D, which place it held ever afterwards, without regard to the rank of its Captain, by common consent. The regiment also had been newly armed with the Improved U. S. Springfield Rifled muskets, and had also received new standards consisting of the regulation flags and a blue banner on which were inscribed, in gilt letters, the name of the regiment, and, by general orders, "Ft. Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth," the the names of the battles in which it had taken a prominent part. The boys were very proud of the colors, and of being the color Company, and being one of the largest, if not the largest, and the best drilled one, felt that they deserved the recognition.

On the 9th of April, pursuant to orders, the regiment marched to the levee through clouds of dust that enveloped the command and covered the boys almost past identification, and embarked on the steamer "Planet" to take the place that it had been assigned in the 15th corps,²⁹ and were soon steaming down the "Father of Waters." . . .

The shores continued to recede. Cape Girardeau was passed on the 10th and Cairo reached during that night, where the regiment had its option to relieve the 35th Iowa and remain as its garrison, but respectfully declined. Proceeding down the river, Columbus, New Madrid and Island No. 10 were passed during the day, and Ft. Pillow during the night, arriving at Memphis at about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April. The boys speedily caught sight of the Bradley Block with which they had become acquainted during their former visit about one year previously, and did not fail to contrast the conditions under which their visits were made.³⁰

and since that time he had been gradually closing in on that Mississippi stronghold. For Grant's account of this famous siege, see Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:422ff.

²⁹ The 12th Iowa was now assigned to the 3rd Brigade (together with the 8th and 35th Iowa, under command of Brig. Gen. Charles L. Matthies of Iowa), of the 3rd Division (commanded by Brig. Gen. J. M. Tuttle of Iowa) of the 15th Army Corps (under command of Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman). *Roster and Record*, 2:410; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 750.

³⁰ A year before, when the Confederates held Memphis, the members of the 12th

While at Memphis the regiment drew tents and transportation, the former of what is known as Bellshaped, the latter, two six mule teams and a government wagon, all of which having been loaded on the Planet, the steamer, at 1:30 P. M. proceeded down the river. Helena, Arkansas, was passed during the night, and Lake Providence, Louisiana, the next day at evening, and Duckport, Louisiana, reached during the forenoon of the 14th, when we proceeded to disembark, and went into camp in an old cotton field behind the levee, which consists of a high embankment on both sides of the river, to prevent it, when the waters are high, from spreading over the country. The spring floods had filled the river and its waters were several feet higher than our camp. Company D had fifty men, and the regiment 388 when they entered upon this campaign. The 15th Army Corps, General Sherman commanding, was composed of three divisions — 1st, Gen. Steel, 2nd, Gen. Blair, and 3rd, General Tuttle.³¹ The third division was gathering at Duckport seven miles above Vicksburg, sometimes called the Upper Landing of Young's Point, and the 12th Iowa was assigned to the 3rd Brigade, consisting of the 8th, 12th and 35th Iowa, and commanded by Colonel [Joseph J.] Woods of the 12th Iowa.

At the time when we arrived a canal was being excavated for the purpose of connecting the river with a bayou connected with the river fifteen miles below Vicksburg, and it had been opened up so that the water was flowing freely from the river to the bayou, and several steam dredges were at work deepening it.³² During the two weeks we remained, heavy details of officers and men were constantly employed upon the canal and the bayou, with which it connected, endeavoring to clear a channel for steamers. On the 20th of April, General L. Thomas, the Adjutant General of the Armies of the United States, addressed the third division, formed en masse, on the subject of organizing negro troops, and with the desire to influence competent and deserving non-commissioned officers and privates to accept commissions in such regiments. Our army approved of the movement and many

Iowa captured at Shiloh had been quartered in the Bradley Block for a night before being sent South. Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 70.

³¹ Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele commanded the 1st Division; Maj. Gen. Frank P. Blair, the 2nd; and Brig. Gen. James M. Tuttle, the 3rd. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 152-3.

³² This canal, on the western side of the Mississippi, was an effort to bypass the city and move the Union troops below Vicksburg by water, out of range of the Confederate guns. The project was a failure. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:447ff.

of the offices and men were not averse to accepting the offered promotion.

. . .

On the 30th of April, Adjutant [Nathaniel E.] Duncan became A. A. A. G. for Col. Woods commanding the Brigade, and Lieut. Soper of Company D was detailed to act as Adjutant of the regiment. On the 2nd of May, pursuant to orders from Gen. Sherman,³³ all extra baggage was packed, and everything put in knapsacks except a blanket to a man, and the men prepared themselves for business with as little burden as possible. Each man had, besides his gun and accoutrements, two days' rations, sixty rounds of ammunition, blanket, tin cup and such cooking utensils, in the way of coffee pot, skillet, etc., as each squad thought indispensable. All tents, knapsacks, cooking utensils, etc., were packed and left behind. After everything was done, and the men ready to fall in for the march, a shout went up. "Mail!" And sure enough, there was a lot of it, being the first mail that had reached us since leaving Benton Barracks, and the last one, too, for many weeks, and the boys got from five to fifteen letters apiece. In this mail, Capt. Stibbs received his commission as Major, and Major Edgington as Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment.

Lieutenant Colonel Coulter, who had gallantly commanded the Union Brigade, on account of advanced age and ill health, after first conducting the Union Brigade to St. Louis, resigned. A spirited contest took place for the vacancy between Capt. [Willard C.] Earle, of Company B, and Capt. Stibbs, the latter winning by his great popularity among officers and men, from his gallant conduct on many occasions, as well as bringing home the paroled prisoners. Lieutenant Hale at once succeeded to the command of the Company, and at 2 P. M. the regiment filed out and took its place in the line of march around and to the rear of Vicksburg,³⁴ starting in a Southwesterly direction along Walnut Bayou, and after making ten miles, encamped on

³³ Following the failure of the canal project, Grant decided to move his troops by land, south of Vicksburg, after running his supply ships past Vicksburg. On the night of April 16, seven iron-clads, three transports, and ten barges ran the Vicksburg batteries without too much damage. On April 26 other barges, loaded with supplies, were drifted past Vicksburg. In spite of damage and some loss, sufficient supplies were thus moved south of Vicksburg to provision Grant's army. Sherman's 15th Corps was the last to start moving south by land. *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1891), 1:345-7. (Hereafter cited as Sherman, *Memoirs*.)

³⁴ This is misleading, if one thinks of Vicksburg as facing the Mississippi. The Union forces were across the Mississippi, on the west side, marching south to Hard Times Landing and then crossing to the east bank of the Mississippi at Grand Gulf, Miss. From there, they marched north to the "rear" of Vicksburg.

the banks of the bayou with green grass for a carpet and the foliage of lofty trees for a canopy. On the 3rd, we marched along the bayou all day, striking the Milliken's Bend and New Carthage Road at Richmond, La., where we went into camp for the night, having marched twenty miles. On the 4th of May, our route lay along Roundout Bayou, which we followed to its junction with Bydell's Bayou, which latter we crossed on a pontoon bridge, and went into camp that evening on Smith's plantation.

The weather was extremely hot and the road very dusty, as a large part of the army had passed over it. During the day we met 450 rebels captured at Grand Gulf, and passed by the famous Crocker Brigade of the 17th A. C., composed of the 11th, 13th, 15th and 16th Iowa, lying on the Holmes plantation. On the 5th of May we marched fifteen miles, striking the Mississippi River at Perkins Landing, where we went into camp for the night. The next day, the 6th, we marched down the Mississippi along St. Joseph's Lake, and after marching ten miles, went into camp and the next morning marched to Hard Times Landing, where the balance of the regiment, except Company D, was immediately transported across the Mississippi River to Grand Gulf, and started on the road leading to Jackson, Miss. . . .

The day the regiment crossed to Grand Gulf, Company D was train guard, and so was left with the division train, and which for want of transports, could not be ferried over, as the boats which had run the batteries at Vicksburg were constantly occupied crossing over the troops which were constantly arriving and being hurried to the front. . . . Company D found Hard Times Landing appropriately named — nothing but a sandy waste covered with braying mules, government wagons and marching regiments.

On the 10th, the train of the 3rd division crossed over the river on the steamer Silver Cross, and landed at Grand Gulf, remaining over the next day, when the boys viewed everything they thought worth looking at, saw Capt. [Henry J.] Playter of Company H, with several other stragglers, some five days behind the regiment, with a regular horde of stragglers and camp-followers, always in the wake of large armies. On the 12th the Company, as guard with the division train, made twenty miles and went into camp at Rockville, having left Port Gibson to the left. During this one day, the entire Company succeeded in picking up horses and mules for a mount, and the whole Company thereafter rode through, contrary to orders of the corps commander. On the 13th, marched fifteen miles with the train and went into camp. . . .

Persuant to the policy inaugurated by Adjutant General Thomas, contrabands were invited within our lines, and hundreds and thousands were met flocking into Grand Gulf. This exodus of the colored people gave the Confederacy a serious blow.

On the 14th the Company marched twenty-two miles, passing through Raymond, where Logan's division had a sharp engagement with the enemy a few days before, and where we found the 16th Ohio. . . . On the 16th, the Company, with the train, went into camp at Mississippi Springs, having marched only eight miles, having been delayed by troops returning from Jackson, but from whom we learned that Jackson had been taken on the 14th,³⁵ and that the 12th was a prominent participant in the charge, and that the 17th Iowa lost the most men of any regiment in the fight. They were plied with questions as to what became of the Confederate House, where the 12th, a year before, as prisoners, had been treated with so much contumely, and Dixie Land.³⁶ Whether they were able to report or not is not chronicled, but the facts are that Jackson was stormed and carried and occupied one rainy May evening about supper time. Many officers and men of the 12th Iowa, whose bivouac was near there, went to the Confederate House for supper, registered like gentlemen and took seats in the dining room. The darkey waiters scampered around lively amid some little confusion, but all the supper they got was a small piece of corn bread. When it became evident that nothing further could be obtained, the boys put the knives, forks and spoons in their pockets and walked out. There was no one to receive money, so the boys did not longer wait, but hunted elsewhere for supper. Company D was represented by Lieut. Soper, acting Adjutant of the regiment. About nine o'clock that same night, the Confederate House was seen enveloped in flames. It was a large wooden structure and made a fine light while burning, but the next morning there remained little to show for the hotel.

On the 16th of May, the Company with the trains of the 16th and 17th

³⁵ While Company D stayed behind with the wagons, the rest of the 12th Iowa, together with Sherman's division and others in the Union army, had proceeded northeastward on the eastern side of the Mississippi, and had occupied Jackson, Miss., thus cutting off Vicksburg from supplies from the east. Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston had evacuated Jackson on the approach of Grant's army. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:349.

³⁶ While imprisoned in the Confederate House at Jackson, the prisoners from Shiloh could hear bands playing *Dixie* and other Southern songs, and the "lower order of the populace" swarmed about, "abusing the 'Yanks.'" Throne (ed.), "Iowans in Southern Prisons," 70.

army corps, moved across from the Raymond and Jackson Road to Clinton, Miss., seven miles, and awaited the arrival of their command. The country had not been devastated by troops, and the boys found fine foraging, supplying themselves with chickens, honey, milk, and more substantial eatables. The 15th army corps had remained at Jackson two days, destroying railroads and public property, and when leaving there, the 3rd Brigade of the 3rd division constituted the rear guard. Stibbs' division passed Clinton about 2 P. M., but Tuttle's did not arrive until 5 P. M., and then made a night march to Bolton. The roads were obstructed by trains and artillery, and the progress was slow and tedious. When Company D took its place in the regiment, it was easy to see that the Jackson campaign had been a hard one. The boys were out of rations, but had supplied themselves at Jackson with tobacco and sugar, and Company D shared their rations with them, and in return received sugar and tobacco. Hard tack readily commanded a dollar each, but no one had any to sell. The boys gave away what eatables they could spare.

On the 17th, arrived at Bridgeport, Miss., on the Big Black River, five miles above the railroad bridge, where we camped, having marched twenty miles. During the night, a pontoon bridge was laid across the river, upon which Sherman's command crossed the next morning. The battles of Champion Hills the 16th, and the Big Black the 17th had driven the enemy's forces in the direction of Vicksburg. On the 18th, the army of the Tennessee, in three columns, advanced from the Big Black River toward Vicksburg, to coop the Johnnies.

The Brigade marched eighteen miles and took position near the center of Sherman's part of the line, which was the extreme right of the army. On the 19th, the 3rd Brigade, 3rd division, was sent to open up communications with the Yazoo River. In line of battle, with Company D thrown forward as skirmishers, the regiment and Brigade moved over Sherman's battle-field of the previous December, and down the hills overlooking the river and bayou, and the Pioneer Corps soon had a road to the river, over which supplies could be hauled. Company D captured 22 rebel prisoners during the day and a rebel regimental camp, hastily vacated by its occupants, with tents and cooking utensils. Of the prisoners Buttolph made the largest capture. On the 19th, while the 3rd Brigade was opening up the Cracker Road,³⁷ the first assault on Vicksburg took place. On the 20th, crackers

³⁷ "Cracker Road" or "Cracker Line" was the soldiers' name for a supply line to

were issued to the army. When the army left Grand Gulf, it took three days' rations, on which it subsisted six days. The country afforded plenty of meat and corn, also sugar, molasses and tobacco in sufficient quantities were found, but were short of salt.

Still, fresh boiled beef and parched corn would keep men from starving, and did. By the 21st, everyone had enough to eat, and on the 22nd occurred the general assault on the fortifications enclosing Vicksburg — the greatest and grandest charge ever made by the Western, and probably by any army of the modern times.³⁸ Vicksburg was surrounded by a chain of forts built on commanding points, and connected by lines of earthworks following the highest ground in zigzag manner. The country was rough and hilly, and had been covered with heavy timber, which had been felled with the tops from the work, and the tops lapped and sharpened, forming an almost impenetrable abatis. Up a steep hill and through these obstructions, the advance had to be made. The 2nd Brigade of the 3rd division, with the 12th Missouri in the front, following by the 8th Wisconsin, led the assault, the 3rd Brigade having orders as soon as the second Brigade effected a lodgment on the works, to hasten to their support.

The charge was made in plain view from the hill where the 12th Iowa was awaiting orders to advance, and was a grand and awful spectacle. At a given signal, the forces advanced along the whole seven miles. Bravely moved the 2nd Brigade to their work. A sheet of fire and smoke that no man could face poured over the rebel works. The 11th Missouri fell back; the 8th Wisconsin tried it and failed. The charge had been made under General Sherman's personal supervision, and when General Tuttle proposed to put the 8th and 12th Iowa under that fire, General Sherman declined to permit it, and so saved the 12th from a terrific loss. The day closed gloomily enough, as the loss to the whole army had been terrific, but the army and the politicians were content that the place should now be captured by a regular siege, and the engineers immediately proceeded to lay out the lines, and the men to cheerfully work in them, and by the 28th of May, work was being done on the second parallel.

the rear, over which supplies, and especially the popular hardtack or "crackers," could be brought up.

³⁸ Having moved his forces in a ring around Vicksburg, Grant tried to take the town by assault on May 22. The attack failed, however, and the army settled down to a siege. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:531.

The lines and approaches were constructed by digging zigzag trenches, always throwing out the dirt in the direction of the enemy's line.³⁹ The work was mostly done at night. Noiselessly and speechless, the boys worked and relieved each other in holding both guns and handling the shovel. When work on a new parallel was begun at night, it would be far enough along to afford shelter for the boys by morning. Day by day and night by night the work went on. If a reb showed his head above the works, a dozen rifles were aimed at it. If a Yank put his hat on a ram-rod and raised it above the trench, ten chances to one it had one or more bullet holes put through it.

On the 26th of May the Company elected Homer C. Morehead second Lieutenant, Hale being promoted to Captain, and Soper to First Lieutenant. On the 29th, the Rebs sent 300 to 400 charging on the Yanks. Why, no one knew, and a battery of four 30 lb. parrott guns were planted in front of the Brigade. On the 30th, a dispatch from Pemberton⁴⁰ to Johnston was captured, urging him to hurry up and relieve him, as he could not hold out much longer. On the night of the 31st, Company D was on picket line in front of the parallels, but no firing was done by either side. These pickets were withdrawn at day-break. During the night of June 1st, the regiment was hastily formed in line of battle to repel an expected attack, which did not come. Still sharp fighting for the possession of a spring of water occurred on our left.

On June 5th, Gov. Kirkwood and Adjutant General Baker of Iowa visited the Iowa troops and visited the parallels and approaches, but became decidedly nervous as the minies whistled about their ears, and manifested a decided penchant for walking much stooped over. Capt. Hale having been granted sick leave, Lieut. Soper was returned to and placed in command of the Company. On the night of June 9th, Companies A and D was on advance picket line, and on the 12th, the 3rd Brigade was relieved from the trenches by a brigade of Blair's division, and assigned a camp at a safe distance from rebel lines. When the 12th left the trenches, the lines were so near that a chip could easily be thrown from one to the other.

Other Companies lost men killed and wounded during the siege, but

³⁹ For a more detailed account of the building of these trenches around Vicksburg, see Mildred Throne (ed.), "Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 55:336-8 (October, 1957).

⁴⁰ Confederate Gen. John C. Pemberton, in command at Vicksburg.

Company D had no casualties. From the 12th to the 20th the Company furnished heavy details for fatigue duty, but no pickets. At daylight on the 20th was a general bombardment of the rebel works from every piece of artillery planted around the fortifications. During the siege, the gun and mortar boats had kept up a constant fire on the city, day and night. On the 21st the rebel Ft. Hill was blown up and on the 22nd the 1st and 3rd Brigades of the 3rd Division were ordered toward Black River where a line was being formed to meet and keep Johnston's army from Vicksburg. The 12th Iowa and Company D took no further part in the siege.

AFTER JOHNSTON — IN SUMMER QUARTERS

On the 22nd of June, 1863, the 4th Iowa Cavalry had a sharp fight with the rebel force between the Yazoo and Big Black River about fifteen miles from Vicksburg. This force was supposed to be the advance guard of Johnston's Army, and preparations were made to meet it.⁴¹ Gen. Sherman was assigned to the command of the forces sent to meet Johnston, and on that day the 1st and 3rd Brigades of Tuttle's Division was started for the scene of the supposed danger, marching that evening some six miles, and sleeping on our arms, after dispatching our rations. The weather was very warm, and the next day's march of only eight or nine miles was one of the worst ever experienced. We encamped on Webles' Plantation, on what is called Birdsong's Ferry Road, about 4 miles from the Big Black, and 15 from Vicksburg. Wild blackberries were just ripe, and were in the greatest abundance and very fine. With plenty of sugar and concentrated milk, they were delicious. While we remained, the principal occupation of the boys was doing picket duty — picking blackberries, and trying to steal the few pigs and chickens the Rebs had left in the country. A large force faced Johnston — too strong for him to break, but as he was near and had a large force, a line of rifle pits was constructed, but they were never needed.

. . .

On the 4th of July, an official dispatch was received that Vicksburg had surrendered, and with it was coupled an order that the command move that evening to the Big Black, on the Jackson Road.

⁴¹ Rumors that Johnston was coming to the rescue of Pemberton caused Grant to send Sherman's corps to "counteract" any effort on Johnston's part to relieve Vicksburg by attacking Grant's army in the rear. According to Sherman, "Even then the ability of General Johnston was recognized, and General Grant told me that he was about the only general on that side whom he feared." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:356-7.

The movements that resulted in the capture of Vicksburg were the most important and conducted with the greatest results of any campaign during the war — both in the number of prisoners and war material captured, and also in opening the Mississippi River and cutting in two the Confederacy. No wonder there was rejoicing all over the North.

The enemy was just across Black River — in how great numbers we did not know. By the 6th of July, arrangements for paroling the captured army had so far progressed as to release the greater part of Grant's army and a forward movement on Johnston was inaugurated upon the different lines of march. At 4 P. M. the first and 3rd Brigades of the 3rd Division, 15th Army Corps, again crossed the Big Black on a pontoon bridge under cover of the artillery, and deployed into line of battle — the 1st Brigade on the right of the road, and the 3rd on the left, and preceded by a heavy line of skirmishers, advanced in line of battle thru a dense forest, reaching the uplands about dark. The open country had been scoured by cavalry, and we continued to advance until near eleven P. M. when we were marched into a cotton field, stacked arms, and the boys threw themselves down between rows of cotton plants and soon fell asleep. The night was cool, and many of the boys' blankets were being carried by the mule brigade and were far in the rear.

All was silent as the grave, when suddenly a terrible racket, followed by unearthly yells, arose from the bivouac of the 8th Iowa, and pandemonium appeared to let loose. The boys rushed for their guns and awaited the worst. A hungry mule tied to a ten foot rail, hunting fodder, had upset several stacks of guns upon the sleeping soldiers, and, terrified at the result, had rushed thru the camp, nearly caused a stampede if not a panic. No harm was done, except that the 35th Iowa lost some blankets, but they were found by the 12th and good use made of them. The incident has been told with many embellishments at numerous camp fires in after years, but the above are the facts with regard to the mule stampede. All were equally frightened, and the 8th need not pretend that it was a joke perpetrated on the 35th to get their blankets.

The next morning our pickets captured five rebel pickets who had been deserted by their army falling back. The first Division took the advance on this day. Our Brigade marched to Bolton, ten miles. The dust and heat was terrible, and men played out by the dozen. That night it rained. On the 8th, the most of the day was consumed in waiting for the 13th Army

Corps to pass, which gave opportunity to dry clothing and blankets, and after 5 P. M., marched ten miles to Clinton. On the 9th, the command advanced five miles, the 12th Iowa in the advance of the Infantry, the Cavalry doing most of the skirmishing, and pressing the enemy's rear guard. In the advance on Jackson, the 13th Corps had the right, the 9th the left, and the 15th the centre. On the 10th the enemy retreated behind their works at Jackson and showed fight.⁴²

The position of the 12th was on De Fonte's plantation, in an open field some distance from the fortifications, but near enough so that solid shot and shell came uncomfortably close. Our relic hunter Zuver found on this plantation a New Orleans picayune,⁴³ bearing date Nov. 8, 1840, the date of his birth, which he greatly prized. On the 11th, the brigade foraging party, with Quarter Master [George H.] Morrissey, of the 12th, and a detail of the regiment, were captured. None of Company D boys were in the detail. The country was full of rebel squads picking up stragglers and foragers, but forage must be had, and the 12th Iowa was ordered to proceed the next day in quest of the same.

By six o'clock on the morning of July 12th, the 12th Iowa was on the march. Proceeding some ten miles in a Southerly direction, they came to a portion of the country not previously visited by the Union army, and a stop was made at the plantation of the Rev. F. J. Hills. The overseer saw it could not be helped and told the boys to help themselves. They took him at his word and helped themselves to everything they saw. Company D, [John J.] Whittam being the instigator, of course, even took the dinner that had been cooked for Col. Edgington and his staff. The boys took everything they had any use for, or could carry, and many things they had no use for. Among other things, Whittam got a fine saddle. The expedition was in every way a success. Returning to camp at 7 P. M., the boys, with full stomachs, guarded ninety wagons loaded with forage and supplies.

The 12th returned to its old position in the line, where it remained during the 13th, 14th and 15th, with fighting and skirmishing going on along the line within hearing distance constantly, and not knowing what moment we might be ordered into it, and within range of the rebel artillery. The city

⁴² Having driven Johnston back to Jackson, Grant's army now settled down to a siege, which lasted until July 17, when Johnston evacuated the town and escaped. *Ibid.*, 1:359-60.

⁴³ A copy of the New Orleans newspaper, the *Picayune*.

of Jackson is situated on the West side of Pearl River, and at this time our lines extended to the Pearl River both above and below the City. An effort was being made to surround the place and capture the enemy. On the 14th [sic. 12th] Gen. Lauman led his division against the rebel works, and was repulsed with fearful loss, for which he was deprived of his command, how justly is disputed.⁴⁴ He was an Iowa man and a brave soldier.

The Union lines were well fortified, the boys by this time fully appreciating the use of the shovel, and understanding how to handle it. Late in the afternoon, the two brigades of the 3rd Division took the place in the line of the Division of Gen. Austerhaus [sic. Peter J. Osterhaus], and Companies D and H sent out on picket, relieving a Company of the 16th Ohio, commanded by Lieut. Heckoch, an old schoolmate of Zuver's in Ohio. By July 16th Companies D and H, with the balance of the picket line, advanced on the enemy, supposing that the Rebs were evacuating their works, but soon found that the works were fully manned, and they caused Mother Earth to become suddenly very dear, and a fit subject to be embraced. The rebels, in return, charged on the 1st Division, but were easily repulsed. The Company sustained no loss, although nearly [every] man in the Company had a close call, and were only saved by lying flat in the dense undergrowth in their front. Lieut. Soper was in command of the Company and led the men in the advance, and while some thought him rash for advancing so far, yet the sequel showed that his idea was right — that the men were safer near an enemy and behind shelter than farther away, with less cover. He did not ask anyone to go where he did not first go himself.

At dusk, Company D and Company H were relieved and returned to the line. Gen. Tuttle having become ill and no longer able to command the Division, Col. Woods was assigned to the command of the Division and Col. [James L.] Geddes of the 8th Iowa succeeded him in the command of the 3rd Brigade.

⁴⁴ Brig. Gen. Jacob G. Lauman of Burlington, originally colonel of the 7th Iowa, had had a distinguished career and had risen rapidly until his bad mistake at Jackson, Miss., which cost him his command. Placed in position on July 11 by Maj. Gen. Edward O. C. Ord of the 13th Army Corps, Lauman had, on the morning of July 12, attacked a strong Confederate position with one brigade without orders or without notifying Ord of his intentions. Ord promptly removed Lauman from command and sent him to the rear. The loss of Lauman's first brigade in this engagement was 441 casualties: 61 killed, 251 wounded, and 129 captured or missing, one-half of the 880 men in the brigade. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 547, 574-5, 603-604; *Stuart, Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 168-70; *Sherman, Memoirs*, 1:359.

On the morning of the 17th of July, to the surprise of most of us, Jackson was found to have been evacuated during the night. The city was immediately occupied. The rebels, before leaving, had fired the warehouses and everything that they thought would be valuable to the Yankees. The Yankees, on the other hand, began to burn and destroy everything that they thought of value to the Rebels, and between the two of them, by the time both got thru with it, there was not very much left of the city or railroads.

The 3rd Brigade went into camp near the Blind and Insane Asylum, and foraged among the better class of residences successfully, and prepared to make themselves comfortable during their stay, but at dark on the evening of the 18th, Col. Geddes, with a detachment consisting of the 8th and 12th Iowa, the 72nd and 95th Ohio and the 2nd Iowa Battery, forded Pearl River and set out toward Brandon, Miss., marching something over a mile, when a halt for the night was made, cooking their coffee where the smouldering campfires showed that the enemy's pickets had just left. The next morning the command filed into the road and proceeded toward Brandon. After advancing four or five miles, Col. Geddes, learning that the enemy in force was preparing to dispute his progress, ordered a halt and reported to the corps commander the situation. After the men had rested, the command was formed in two lines of battle, the 8th and 12th on opposite sides of the road, supported by the 72nd and 95th Ohio, with a battery in the road, and cautiously advanced upon the enemy hidden by the timber, until the rebel battery began shelling them, when the line was halted and the 2nd Iowa battery took position and unlimbered, and an artillery duel was fought, with advantage to neither party.

About this time, a brigade of the 1st Division arrived, and an advance was immediately ordered. Soon after, very opportunely, a shower of rain fell. A halt having been made while the line was in a cornfield, the men had lain down to avoid the shells, and all had nearly smothered. The rain refreshed everyone and a running fight was kept up the balance of the way to Brandon, thirteen miles from Jackson, where we arrived toward evening and were received by ladies with pitchers of water and glasses. Of course the soldiers were thirsty. Whether this reception was prompted by policy or sentiment we did not stop to inquire. The 12th camped in the court house yard. During the night, rebel guards, under flag of truce, with paroled prisoners on their way to Jackson, passed thru.

On the morning of the 20th the command marched 11½ miles to the rail-

road depot and destroyed it and tore up and destroyed about five miles of railroad track, and burned what cotton could be found and then set out on the return march to Jackson, arriving at 10 P. M. that night. While we had been absent, the 9th and 3rd Corps had returned, and Smith's Division of the 9th had been transferred to the 15th Army Corps as the 4th Division.

The 21st and 22nd were spent in Jackson, the men having a good deal of liberty, while squads and details continued the work of destruction, which, having been completed, the command, accompanied by contrabands and refugees in considerable numbers, evacuated Jackson, and marching as far as Clinton, went into camp for the night. The boys had been over the ground so many times they knew the road well, but on the 24th a new road was taken and the command marched over a portion of the battle field of Champion's Hill, and encamped on Baker's Creek, about 25 miles from Jackson. The trees and brush on the battlefield looked as it had on portions of the field of Shiloh, and showed that hard work had been done.⁴⁵

At this place, Gen. Tuttle was in command of the Division, and Col. Woods of the Brigade. On the next day, the 25th, the Division moved up Black River, crossing at the Messenger's Ferry, and after marching some fifteen miles, went into camp some four or five miles from the river. The camp was well selected on level ground, shaded by lofty trees, and convenient. These indications all pointed [to] a resting spell, and the camp was named Camp Sherman. The remainder of the month of July was spent in pitching tents, clearing and cleaning up streets and parade grounds, and making a pleasant and enjoyable camp. . . . Some drilling was done in the cool of the morning and evening, but the most the boys had to do, except light detail for guard and picket duty, was to eat, write letters and keep cool. . . .

On September 6th, General [Alexander] Asboth took command of the Division and Col. Woods went home on leave. . . . On the 15th the regiment moved four miles to the left, and established Camp Stibbs, near the plantation of Major Harris, when for three days every man was on guard, picket, patrol or fatigue duty. But just as a three acre camp in thick heavy timber was about cleared, orders came to rejoin the Brigade, and the regiment moved back and established a new camp, called Camp Woods, where we had picket duty every other day. . . .

⁴⁵ The battle of Champion's Hill had taken place on May 16, 1863, during Grant's

On the 27th of September, Gen. Sherman left with the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the 13th Army Corps for Chattanooga.⁴⁶ . . . Camp life had become dull and insipid, and ennui pervaded the camp, relieved only by guard and picket duty and an occasional skirmish on the picket line. On October 10th the regiment slept in line on their arms, fearing a night attack, and on the 11th Gen. Tuttle relieved Gen. Asboth of the command of the division, and the latter, with his many dogs and fine horses, went elsewhere. On the 13th the Iowa regiments in the brigade voted at State election, Gen. [William M.] Stone being the Republican candidate for Governor and Gen. Tuttle the Democratic. The result was as follows: 12th, Stone 211, Tuttle 23; 8th, Stone 253, Tuttle 7; 35th, Stone 211, Tuttle 124. The boys liked Tuttle, but disliked Stone personally, so the vote was a clear indication of the political bias of the command.

By October 15th Camp Woods had become a beautiful village of canvas-covered cottages. The tents had been raised three or four feet from the ground, the lower part boarded up and floored, and fireplaces, with tall chimneys, constructed, and furnished with centre tables and more or less parlor furniture. Cook shanties were constructed and covered with tent flies. There were plenty of mules to ride into the country for milk and forage, water to haul from a spring near by, as well as close chances of capture to be run. There was also a regimental portable oven and baker, with daily fresh bread, as well as an improvised gymnasium. These and many other conveniences and luxuries not usually found in camp showed not only that the boys had not been idle all the time, but also that they still had some taste and longing for civilized life.

But when the sun rose on the morning of the 15th, the tents and flies had disappeared, all extra baggage had been packed and sent to the rear, and the Brigade was falling into line, and soon was on the march, leaving only the deserted ruins of the lively village of the day before. At Messenger's Ferry, the 3rd Brigade was joined by the 1st and two divisions of the 17th army corps, all under General [James B.] McPherson. The two Brigades of the 15th army corps had the advance, marching twenty miles to Brownsville,

advance from Grand Gulf to Vicksburg, and was one of the victories which enabled him to separate Johnston from Pemberton.

⁴⁶ Brig. Gen. William S. Rosecrans had been defeated at the battle of Chickamauga on Sept. 19-20, and had retired to Chattanooga. Sherman was sent to his relief with part of the 13th Army Corps. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:374-5.

Miss., and went into camp on a high ridge facing the enemy. The circling camp fires made an attractive scene, especially to those of Company D, to whose lot fell a night on picket duty, to be followed by a day's march. The enemy had been slowly but surely driven all day by the cavalry and artillery, and no infantry had been engaged. October 16th the army advanced only six miles. The enemy made quite a determined stand but was again driven by the cavalry and artillery. On the 18th there was more fighting, but the artillery caused the enemy to fall back.

On the 18th, the command separated. General Logan with his division, and the two brigades of the 3rd division, marched briskly to Bolton and Clinton, twenty miles, while the remainder of the 17th corps pushed on to Canton, Miss. On the 19th, Logan's command returned to Black River, crossing over before going into camp. During the whole 18 miles march on that day, the enemy hovered on the flanks of the command, watching for an opportunity to attack, but found no satisfactory one. The expedition was sent out as a diversion in Gen. Rosecrans' favor, and to destroy cotton and railroad property, which was successfully accomplished, large amounts of locomotives and cars being destroyed, and, as our historian records it, it likewise resulted in starting from the ground a great many sweet potatoes. The next day, the 3rd brigade went into camp on Hebron's Plantation between Vicksburg and the Big Black River, and about nine miles from Vicksburg, where the boys proceeded to rebuild another village and supply themselves as much with the comforts of home life as their situations and surroundings would admit of. . . .

On the 7th of Nov., 1863, the 3rd Division of the 15th army corps, on its way to Chattanooga, as was supposed, marched to Vicksburg and embarked on steamers. The Pioneer Corps and the 12th Iowa were assigned to the steamer Thomas E. Tuttle, and about 7 P. M. on the 8th, the steamer planks were pulled in and she swung out into the stream and was soon following in the wake of the other steamers that had preceded her up the stream.

RE-ENLISTMENT

On November 10, 1863, we passed Napoleon, Arkansas, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and Helena on the 11th, and arrived at Memphis at 10 A. M. of the 12th and disembarked and went into camp on the outskirts southeast of the city. The weather was fine, and little duty to do and the boys had a very good opportunity to explore the city, which had not been

the case on either of their two former visits. Everyone supposed we were on our way to Chattanooga to join the balance of our corps, and this probably was the original intention, and we were only awaiting transportation, but the first Brigade of our Division was assigned to duty at Memphis, the 2nd sent to La Grange, Tenn., and on the 19th of November, the 3rd Brigade set out on a march Eastward along the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, and encamped that night near Germantown, fifteen miles, pitching tents for the first time for the 12th when on a march, but as it rained very hard that night, the boys were well repaid by the shelter they afforded.

On the 20th marched sixteen miles, passing Collierville, and went into camp near Fayetteville, and on the 21st reached La Grange, 18 miles. While on this march, the boys grumbled a good deal and blamed Col. Geddes,⁴⁷ as it was generally believed that he might have had the command transported by rail had he so chosen. At La Grange, while awaiting cars to transport us to our destination, the boys wandered through the halls of the Female College located here, and over the gravel walks through the grounds, and wondered where the Southern belles had gone with their precious snuff-sticks.⁴⁸

In the afternoon of the 23rd of November, the Brigade, with the exception of the left wing of the 35th Iowa, which the day before had proceeded to Middletown, Tenn., took the cars on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, near the Tallahatchie River. The 12th proceeded to Chewalla, Tennessee, 9 miles East of Corinth, Mississippi, arriving at midnight, and where, without depot or platform, the rain pouring down in torrents, they unloaded themselves, baggage and camp equipage and transportation, scattering things right and left, and then groped and waded to camp, a mile distant, and sought shelter.⁴⁹ In the morning, the regiment relieved three companies of the 3rd Michigan cavalry as garrison of the Post and took charge of the Camp. It comprised about three acres, surrounded by a high stockade built of logs well set in the ground, with port-holes, with log cabins for barracks,

⁴⁷ Col. James L. Geddes of the 8th Iowa. *Stuart, Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 185-94.

⁴⁸ A snuff stick, or brush, was used in rubbing snuff on the teeth or gums. Chiefly used in the Southern United States.

⁴⁹ "... early in November . . . [the 12th Iowa] was ordered to Memphis and, upon arriving there, was assigned to the Third Brigade of the First Division of Major General Hurlbut's Sixteenth Corps, and was stationed at Chewalla, ninety miles from Memphis, to guard a section of the railroad." *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

all of which had been constructed by the 18th Missouri Infantry. Besides these conveniences, it possessed telegraphic communications with the out-a large Chapel, warehouse, officers' quarters, wells of good water and a fort, side world, and in and about it were many Union refugees and wives of Union soldiers who had married in Tennessee and Mississippi.

The Regiment at once proceeded to make a general cleaning of the post and settled down to the work of doing scouting and picket duty, and guarding the railroad, especially the trestle bridge, about 300 feet long, spanning Cypress Creek, three miles distant from camp. The railroad bridge was guarded by a Company at a time. The duty was heavy. Besides camp guard, fuel had to be prepared and hauled, commissary stores and forage to be got from the country or brought from the railroad, pickets stationed on every road leading from the place, and almost daily scouting parties sent out, the latter made necessary by squads and detachments of the enemy making visits to their homes or pressing men into the rebel service, and who were constantly prowling around to gobble the pickets and pick up stragglers. With Division Headquarters at La Grange, and Brigade at Poca-hontas, the regiment was almost an independent command, and in many respects was such, having its own spies and scouts employed, who reported direct to Col. Stibbs, commanding the post.

But notwithstanding all this duty, the 12th Iowa spent the winter of 1863-4 in a very enjoyable manner. There was very little duty but had some novelty, and these little dangers and scouts relieved the monotony of camp life. During the winter several of the officers' wives came down and joined their husbands, and their presence enlivened the camp. The Chapel, as the Regiment had no Chaplain, was converted into a dancing hall, and as the regiment had good musicians and instruments, night after night the boys would choose partners from among themselves and carry on the dancing in regular society-ball style. Cotillions, reels, waltzes, schottisches, polkas, mazurkas, gallopades, Firemen's dances, etc. were practiced and lessons learned that in after-years made some of them the envy of the ballroom at home. Much of the credit for this is due to Company G, composed mostly of Scandinavians, but most excellent soldiers, and one of the tidiest Companies in the regiment, as well as good dancers. Occasionally dances were gotten up by the boys, and ladies from the adjacent country invited, when they were conveyed to camp in ambulances, and escorted home in style. It was seldom that one of them went back on snuff or tobacco. Sam Flint, of

Company D, one evening invited a not very promising looking applicant to dance with him. Before she answered, she ejected into her hand and threw on the floor a big quid of tobacco, and then loudly and sarcastically answered "No!" The boys did not for some time forget to guy Sam about her. Sometimes the citizens brought in produce to exchange for Uncle Sam's fractional currency, but their butter was not like that for which the land of Goshen was famed, and chickens and eggs had left the country. So much for the winter's amusements.

At tattoo on the night of the 27th [of November], Company D received orders to put a day's rations in haversack and be ready in two hours to move on a scout. At the appointed time, the Company left camp, accompanied by three natives employed as scouts and spies, of whom "Bill, the scout" was one. Crossed the Tallahatchie, and halted near what was known as the "boneyard," southwest of Corinth, and some eight miles from camp. The night was fearfully cold, and the boys, with shaking knees and chattering teeth, awaited the coming of the expected rebels upon either of the three roads centering here. But none showed up, and as soon as it was light, the Company retired to a cane-brake, in a convenient ravine, built fires, warmed themselves, boiled coffee and breakfasted, and the balance of the 28th, scouted more for wild turkeys than rebels, but without success as to either, returning to camp just at dark. By the 30th, rumors of the dangerous proximity of a strong rebel force were rife. While the boys did not put much confidence in them, still they wished for a Company of Cavalry and a couple of pieces of artillery, when, with a force of less than 500, they would have felt secure from an attack of 5,000. On December 1st the telegraph wires were cut three different times, and telegraphic communication destroyed, and an attack from Forrest, who was reported crossing the Tallahatchie, expected. This only served to make the boys more watchful. . . .

On the 4th, the rebels tore up some three miles of railroad track between Pocahontas and La Grange, and attacked the troops at Moscow. Railroad communications for several days were thereby interrupted. The 7th Kansas Cavalry (Jennesen's Jay-hawkers)⁵⁰ captured 150 Rebs near Danville, Miss., and sent them by rail from Chewalla to Memphis as prisoners. For-

⁵⁰ This was the 7th Kansas Cavalry, commanded by Col. Charles R. Jennison, a doctor who had been a leader of the antislavery forces in Kansas in the 1850's. His regiment became known as the "Jayhawkers." Simeon M. Fox, *The Story of the Seventh Kansas* (pamphlet, Topeka [?], 1902 [?]).

rest was pursued through West Tennessee by part of the Division and a force of cavalry, but he escaped, returning to Mississippi early in January.

In December re-enlistment as veteran volunteers began in the regiment with Company I. The inducements were: 1. Credit for the unexpired term. 2. \$400.00 bounty. 3. A thirty days furlough home, with transportation both ways, with all pay and allowances to date of muster out. These inducements proved attractive to most of the Company and re-enlistment was popular.⁵¹ . . .

On Jan. 5, 1864, those of the 12th Iowa who had re-enlisted were mustered out as plain volunteers, and mustered in as veteran volunteers by Lieut. Meagher, 13th U. S. Infantry, A. C. M., and the regiment became the 12th Infantry Regiment of Iowa [Veteran] Volunteers. There was quite a strife between the 8th and 12th as to which should first get the requisite number of men to become mustered in as a veteran regiment, and the 12th won, and became really the third regiment that re-enlisted. Out of an aggregate of 434 present in the regiment, 323 re-enlisted,⁵² and of the 49 in the Company, 39 re-enlisted. . . .

The re-enlistment of so many of the volunteers whose term of service was so near expiration did much to encourage our own government, and discourage the Confederacy, and had a very wholesome effect in the North, and made possible the great campaign of 1864. Whether the country has done justice to these veterans is an open question, whose discussion is not within the limits of this history. . . .

In January, 1864, Corinth and the posts along the railroad East of there were evacuated and the troops drawn off Eastward toward Chattanooga, while the 3rd Division, 15th Army Corps, guarding the railroad West of Corinth were drawn off toward Memphis, and became the 1st Division of the 16th corps, and the Division commanded by A. J. Smith, the 3rd, and the two together constituting the right wing of the 16th Corps, while the 2nd and 4th Divisions under Gen. Dodge, with Gen. Sherman, constituted the left wing of the 16th Corps.⁵³

⁵¹ All Iowa regiments except the 1st Iowa had enlisted for three years. Their time now expiring, they were free to be mustered out unless they re-enlisted as "veterans." Of the 12th Iowa, 298 re-enlisted for three more years, or for the duration of the war. *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

⁵² The figures for re-enlistment given in note 51 are probably more nearly correct than those given here by Soper.

⁵³ Soper is somewhat confused here as to the makeup of the 16th Army Corps.

On January 25, Corinth was evacuated, and the works that had cost so much labor destroyed. On the 26th, the 12th Iowa burned the Barracks and stockade at Chewalla and moved by train to Memphis, arriving in the evening and the next day went on board of the steamer Delaware, leaving all supplies and baggage in store. On the 30th the regiment was paid off, the veterans receiving pay and bounty up to muster out, and on the same day a recruiting party for the regiment went North to recruit for the regiment generally, consisting of Major [Edward M.] Van Duzee, Capt. [Lloyd D.] Townsley [Co. G], and Orderly Sergeant [Judson L.] Boughton of Company D, [John D.] Conger of A, [Valma V.] Price of H, and [John] Bremner of F, and on the afternoon of February 1st, the steamer with the 12th and many stragglers from the commands that had preceded it down the river, headed down stream.

It rained for three days, and the 12th were quartered on the hurricane deck, and were as wet and uncomfortable as veterans could well be. The Delaware stopped three hours at Helena during the night of the 1st, and arrived at Vicksburg at 10 A. M. of the 3rd, and went into camp about three miles from the city, when it was learned that the 1st Brigade had remained in Memphis. On the 4th, the two Brigades of the Division marched to Black River Bridge — so called because the river had been spanned by a railroad bridge and a long trestle — and were assigned the tents and quarters of Gen. Lygett's [sic. Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett] command, a part of Logan's [sic. McPherson's] Division of the 17th corps, then commanded by General [John] MacArthur, whose Division had taken the place of Tuttle's in the expedition, on account of his late arrival.⁵⁴

The 12th Iowa was in the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. J. M. Tuttle. Brig. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge commanded the 2nd Division, while Brig. Gen. A. J. Smith commanded the 3rd Division. Maj. Gen. W. T. Sherman commanded the Army of the Tennessee, which consisted of the 15th, 16th, and 17th Army Corps. Maj. Gen. John A. Logan commanded the 15th Army Corps; Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut, the 16th; and Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson, the 17th. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXII, Part II, 297-305.

⁵⁴ This "expedition" was Sherman's attack on Meridian, Miss., part of a plan to break up concentrations of Confederate troops in Mississippi threatening the navigation of the river. Meridian is situated in Eastern Mississippi, about 150 miles east of Vicksburg. See Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:415-33. As Soper states, the 1st Division under Tuttle did not take part in this expedition because of delay in reaching the rendezvous. See Sherman to Tuttle, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXII, Part II, 316. Soper is again in error here about names and commands: Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett commanded the 3rd Div. of McPherson's 17th Corps, and Brig. Gen. John MacArthur was in charge of the defenses of Vicksburg. *Ibid.*, 304, 316, 344.

The expedition had been gone some days when we arrived. The 12th took possession of the camp of the 124th Illinois, which proved very comfortable quarters. Here we remained until the expedition returned from Meridian, Miss., which was subsequently learned to have been its destination. . . . We [had] left Memphis in light marching order, and brought nothing with us but what we could carry on and about our persons during the march, consequently were short of a good many articles that would have been very convenient to carry on the march, but as the quarters, or tent-covered houses, were built with fire-places, and fuel was abundant, we made ourselves very comfortable until the clothing and baggage left at Memphis was forwarded. Picket and guard duty was light but the time was occupied by Company, Regimental, Brigade and even Division drills, which helped to keep the men busy, which in an army, means healthy.

While at Black River Bridge, a number of recruits arrived from the North for the regiment. . . . They were speedily set to drilling under command of a Sergeant, and their instruction in the theoretical part of the art of war was continued until the Company went home, where they had a chance to learn the practical part, up the Red River. One day Company D was sent out as a guard over a party from Des Moines, Iowa, who came to take up and remove the bodies of some officers of the 23rd Iowa, killed in battle at Black River Bridge, May 17, 1863, and hastily buried on the field, which duty was satisfactorily performed without a brush with the enemy who were hovering around. The battle field was some two miles east of the river.

While here, an election was ordered by Col. Stibbs to be held in Company D to select a Captain in place of Heil Hale, resigned. The election was held, resulting in the selection of 1st Lieutenant E. B. Soper for that position, and to which he was immediately appointed, receiving his commission on March 12, 1864. . . .

Gen. Sherman's expedition returned the first days of March, bringing from 5000 to 8000 contrabands, of all ages, sizes and colors, and with all traps and contraptions imaginable. For more than half a day they passed in procession, a constant stream, with the road lined with guying soldiers from the Division. It was a sight to see these former slaves marching to freedom and rations, conveyed by the Federal army. On the afternoon of the 4th of March, the command left Black River and started toward Vicksburg, arriving there about noon of the 5th. While on the march back to Vicksburg,

Dennis Conley, plodding and slipping through the mud, with his pants rolled up, spied a darkey riding comfortably, perched on a load of baggage. The sight so enraged Conley that, clubbing his musket, he made for the darkey, crying "Get down out of that altogether!" This incident Sam Flint took up and geyed Conley, greatly to his annoyance. . . .

Col. Woods joined the regiment at Vicksburg, but did not take command of the Brigade, by reason of the expected departure of the veterans for home. On the 7th, the regiment was ordered to turn over non-veterans and recruits to the 35th Iowa, and the veterans to proceed North to Davenport, Iowa, to be furloughed for thirty days.⁵⁵ . . .

The veterans of the 8th and 12th embarked on the steamer "Minnehaha" and left Vicksburg the afternoon of March 8th, 1864, homeward bound, arriving without accident or incident worth chronicling, at Memphis during the night of the 11th. During the 12th, the regiment turned over its arms, equipments and all government property, and that night proceeded up the river. The Mississippi River was very low, and sand-bars were thick, and slow progress was made. About 7:30 P. M. of the 14th the steamer ran aground, where, for two days and nights, all efforts to get her off proved unavailing, notwithstanding the boys went on shore and with big cables, endeavored to pull her off. The boys soon ran out of rations and went through the store room of the boat, and appropriated what they found edible. Some little damage was done, but not enough to make it amount to much. The owners afterwards made claim against the two regiments for several thousand dollars, to be assessed against their pay, but the claim was contested by the officers and much testimony taken by the military commission to whom the same was referred. The claim was finally rejected.

On the 16th the schooner, *Island City*, came down from Cairo and took off the men, when the *Minnehaha* succeeded in getting off the bar, and followed on to Cairo, where the 8th Iowa went back to her, but the 12th had had enough of her and stuck to the *Island City*. Both steamers left Cairo for St. Louis at 1 P. M. of the 17th arriving there at midnight the 19th. During the passage from Vicksburg to Cairo, Dennis L. Conley of Company D died on the steamer of consumption.

⁵⁵ These "veteran" furloughs just at this time annoyed Gen. Sherman. Plans for the final concerted movement against the Confederacy were in the making, and both Grant and Sherman were "much embarrassed" by the loss of these trained men, if only for 30 days, as it delayed their plans. "To furlough so many of our men at

The next morning after the arrival of the regiment at St. Louis, the city reception committee of veteran regiments met and escorted the regiment, headed by the crack band of the city, seventy pieces, to the Turner's Hall, where the boys were feasted, toasted and filled with the best of victuals and drink, and that evening embarked on another steamer for Davenport, Iowa, arriving the evening of the 22nd. The river was full of running ice, and the weather was far from warm, but by protecting the hull with chains, spars and timbers, the passage was safely made, though the paddlewheels were badly broken up by striking the ice cakes, and occasional collisions with the ice made everything tremble. The citizens entertained the boys the night of the 22nd at the hotels, and the next morning, March 23, 1864, all hands received their furloughs, made up by the Company officers, and signed by Col. Woods the night before, and were ready to take the train east when it came along from Iowa City, the terminus of the road. Company D was provided with transportation by way of La Salle and Dixon, Ill., and arrived at Cedar Rapids about noon on the 24th. The Company was met at the depot by nearly the whole people of the city, when Major Childs made a reception speech, fittingly responded to by Col. Stibbs in behalf of the Company, and escorted by citizens, bearing at its head the flag presented by the ladies in 1861, the Company marched to the American House and partook of the banquet provided for them, and then dispersing proceeded to make use of the freedom of the city, which had been tendered to them. The welcome accorded by the people of Cedar Rapids to Company D was something worth cherishing the remembrance of, and, in a measure, repaid the years of hardship and privations of a soldier's life. . . . Singly, by twos and threes, the boys sought their homes. . . .

AFTER FORREST

On the 25th of April, Co. D, with nearly all present and some recruits, took the cars at Cedar Rapids, the second time, for the seat of war. . . . That afternoon arrived at Clinton, and embarked on the Steamer James Means, and landed at Davenport during the night, and the next morning went to the Barracks at Camp Herron. . . .

The balance of the Regiment having arrived, and the recruits mustered in, on the morning of the 28th Col. Woods led the Regiment to the depot, and took the cars on the C. R. I. & P. Railway, changing to the Illinois Central

that instant of time," wrote Sherman, "was like disbanding an army in the very midst of battle." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:423.

at La Salle, arriving at Cairo during the forenoon of the 29th, and were assigned a muddy, dirty Camp, near the city, to await transportation. The boys, who had so long been used to better things, took upon themselves the privilege of going to hotels and private houses, and paying for or "beating" their entertainment, according to the condition of their funds. But the next morning, the 30th, transportation was secured on the Steamer Luminary, which landed the Regiment at Memphis at noon on May 1st, 1864. It was reported that Col. Woods was offered the position for the Regiment of provost guard of the city of Memphis; but, if so, it was declined, and the 8th Iowa, with Col. Geddes commanding, secured the place. The Regiment landed and marched to Ft. Pickering, just below the city, and were assigned quarters in the Barracks, and drew arms and accoutrements — Enfield Rifles again, and Cos. A, B, C, D and E were put on picket, some not getting posted until after midnight; and the next day was relieved by the other five Companies, which continued during the stay in Memphis — picket every other day.

On May 3rd, the several Companies drew tents and Camp and Garrison equipage, and went into Camp in the rear of Memphis, near Wolf River. It was a beautiful place — a soldiers ideal Camp; shady trees, green grass, no undergrowth near the city and partook not only of the comforts, but also of the elegancies of a soldiers life. The picket duty was every other day, it was true, but was not hard; the principal duty being to prevent contraband articles being taken out through the lines to the Confederates. People living outside the lines, and wanting to make purchases to take home, went to the Provost Marshall and obtained a permit to take out specified articles. It was the duty of the picket to search the party's belongings and see that he had nothing but what was described in the permit. If he had the same was taken from him or her. It was a common practice for them to bring along an extra bottle of whiskey for the guard; but that did not always avail them, if they wanted to get something through they had no permit for. . . .

But, notwithstanding all the comforts and advantages of the Camp, the life was somewhat monotonous; and, when on the 16th day of May orders came to Cos. A, B, C, D, F, and H to report at the mouth of the White River, Ark.,⁵⁶ it did not take the boys long to strike tents, pack baggage

⁵⁶ The regiment was sent to White River, Ark., "for the purpose of establishing a military post." *Roster and Record*, 2:411.

and march to the levee, under command of Col. Stibbs, and embark on the Steamer Atlanta; the very Steamer on which, in 1863, the paroled prisoners came from Louisville to Cairo, and considered the fastest Steamer in the Western waters. As soon as all were on board, the gang plank was pulled in, and we were soon speeding down the Mississippi, and the landing at the mouth of the White River reached by 10 A. M. the 17th. A race was witnessed by the boys, on the way down, between the wooden gunboat Tyler and the Steamer Queen City, with the advantage in favor of the latter.

The six Companies soon disembarked with their belongings, and a Camp was selected on the bank of the river in a wilderness of trees, brush, logs and creeping vines. No troops were Camped here, and none had ever been camped; but all hands, officers and men, took hold, and soon cleared a suitable Camp ground and pitched tents, pickets having first been posted, and everything made as comfortable as possible.

The boys soon learned that this point in the river was the headquarters of the Naval force patrolling the river from Cairo to Natchez; and that the nearest military post was at Napoleon, twenty miles distant, where was stationed a very small force; that the land whereon we were Camping was surrounded by water. Lying between the White and Arkansas Rivers with the Mississippi on one side, and the cut-off between the White and Arkansas on the other. The bottom back of the Camp was full of shallow bayous. These were soon found to be full of fish, principally buffalo, well known in the Western lakes. The boys soon constructed seines of gunny sacks, and in strong force seined the bayous laying in an abundance of fish, when we had them cooked in every known, and in some unheard of manners. The Garrs, however, generally escaped; going through the gunny sacks, and making the cold chills chase each other over the back of any fellows whose legs they came in contact with, probably making him think of Oysters.

Duty at this place was not severe nor irksome; except that the air swarmed with Mosquitos and Gallinipes, for which that whole Country has a national reputation. These made life a burden, and sleep, in a still sultry evening, nearly impossible, notwithstanding smudges that nearly suffocated.

Occasionally a native was seen, but they were scarce then, and probably are now. The Country was scouted and picketed and pretty well learned, but the Confederates did not bother us. The boys amused themselves, for a while, bathing in the Mississippi, but the narrow escape of Serg't [Howard] Pangborn from drowning, by taking a cramp, put a stop to this pastime.

A man was caught passing counterfeit money, and, when arrested, had on his person \$500 in greenbacks, and \$870 counterfeit greenbacks. He was started for Memphis under Guard of Serg't King and four men, but on route jumped overboard, and, receiving a volley from the guard, disappeared.

On June 1st the Enfield rifles were exchanged for new Springfields brought down by Lt. [Arison T.] Fuller of Co. K; and, on the 2nd, orders were received to leave Cos. H [sic. A] and F in charge, and for Col. Stibbs to report with the other four Companies at Memphis; and on the same day Cos. B, C, D, and H left on Steamer Satan arriving during the night, and the next day took their place in the old Camp, and began picket duty in the old style and frequency.

A few days after, all the troops in and about Memphis were ordered out to witness the execution of three men of the 2nd N. J. Cavalry, for committing a rape and causing death. They had been condemned by a Military Court and the sentence approved and were shot in the presence of all the troops by squads of the 8th Iowa.

By June 15th that portion of the 16th Corps and the 3rd Div. 15th A. C. which had been with Banks, had returned from the Red River expedition,⁵⁷ were reorganized as the Right Wing 16th A. C. and ready for business. The 1st Division, commanded by Gen. J. A. Mower (formerly 3rd Division 15th A. C. commanded by Gen. Tuttle) consisted of three Brigades as follows:

1st: 72nd and 95th Ohio; 93rd Ind., 114th Illinois; 10th Minnesota, and Waterhouse's Battery, commanded by Col. [William L.] McMillen; 2nd: 11th Mo.; 8th Wisconsin; 47th Illinois, 5th and 9th Minnesota; and 2nd Iowa Battery [and 11th Missouri], commanded by Col. [Lucius F.] Hubbard; 3rd: 12th and 35th Iowa, 7th Minnesota, 33rd Mo. and 6th Indiana Battery, commanded by Col. Wood. This was the roster of the 1st Division until after the battle of Nashville.

On June 16th the non-veterans and recruits having returned from 35th Iowa, the 12th commanded by Lt. Col. Stibbs, except Companies A and F, which were still at mouth of White River, in light marching order, with three days rations in haversacks, took the cars on the M. & C. R'y, and ran

⁵⁷ Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks's expedition up the Red River in Arkansas was similar to that of Sherman's Meridian expedition in purpose — to keep the Confederates away from the Mississippi. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:420-21, 430-32.

slowly out about half way between Colliersville and La Fayette, the railroad being in condition to be used no further, and went into Camp. Companies D and H were placed on picket. Frequently, during the night, you would hear the Command: "Halt; who comes there?" Fugitives from Sturges command, which had been so unmercifully punished by Forrest at Guntown, mostly black, kept coming in for three days, or more; footsore, half starved, frequently wounded, they presented a sorry appearance.⁵⁸

From the 16th to the 26th, the railroad bridges over Wolf River, and other streams between La Fayette and La Grange, were constructed, and the Command moved forward, by easy stages. The Right Wing of the 16th Corps and other troops and supplies were being concentrated at La Grange for an expedition.⁵⁹

On the 27th of June the Command arrived at La Grange, where it remained in Camp until the 5th of July, when the Command moved South to Davis Mills, eight miles, and went into Camp. On the next day, the 6th, advanced fourteen miles; the 3rd Brigade in the advance; and the next day made thirteen miles to a point five miles West of Ripley, Miss.; and, on the 8th, marched eleven miles, passing through Ripley, and going into Camp some six miles southeast of that place. What few people we saw were sulky, and everything indicated that the rebels, in force, were in the vicinity.

On July 9th we marched eleven miles and went into Camp near a little tumble down burg called New Albany; and, on the 10th, marched twelve miles, constantly skirmishing with the enemy, to within six miles of Pontotoc, Miss.; and during the night the pickets were attacked, and the 3rd Brigade moved at double quick to their support; and the next day advanced,

⁵⁸ The disastrous defeat of Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis at Guntown, Miss. (also called Tishomingo Creek or Bryce's Cross-Roads) by the famous Confederate raider, Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, was the result of another of many Union efforts to defeat and scatter Forrest's forces. Sturgis' forces consisted of some 3,300 cavalry and 5,000 infantry; his casualties amounted to about 2,200, of whom about 1,600 were captured. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, 85ff.; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1956), 4:419-21.

⁵⁹ Sturgis having failed to defeat Forrest, the task was given to Maj. Gen. Andrew J. Smith, commanding the right wing of the 16th Army Corps. Smith's orders were "to bring Forrest to bay and whip him if possible, and at all events to hold him where he was and prevent him from moving upon the communications of Major-General Sherman." Report of Maj. Gen. C. C. Washburn, *ibid.*, 249. Smith had about 14,000 men for this expedition. *Ibid.*, 250. Sherman, at this time, was in the midst of his Atlanta campaign and, by action in Mississippi, hoped to disperse Forrest's forces there, thus preventing him from attacking Sherman's lines of supply. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:52.

constantly skirmishing, and drove the enemy through Pontotoc; the 3rd Brigade being in the advance, where a days rest was had.

Since leaving La Grange, and while moving from Colliersville, the men suffered greatly from the intensity of the heat. A July sun shot down its burning rays; a sandy road reflected the heat; the air was filled with dust; the men were fairly broiled in the sun and buried in clouds of dust; hundreds of men fell out by the wayside in the shadow of brushes, trees and fences, fainting and exhausted from the effects of the heat.

On the 13th the command which had been moving south turned eastward toward Tupello [*sic.* Tupelo], a station on the Mobile & Ohio R'y. The enemy commenced a harassing attack on the rear guards, and threatened the trains, which followed each Division. About the middle of the forenoon, the 12th Iowa was ordered back double quick about a mile to aid in the defence of the train. When it took its position marching alongside of the wagons, Col. Woods, Commanding Brigade, called for two volunteers from each company — E. A. Buttolph and Herman Grass volunteered from Company D — as flankers and were thrown out on the right with orders to keep a sharp lookout for the enemy. Suddenly while moving along the road, bordered with dense undergrowth, shots were fired. Instantly the regiment formed on the side of the road next the enemy, and the enemy were upon us. The brush was so thick that the firing was much at random, but the 12th made it so hot in the brush, that the rebels soon sought a safer place, when we had time to look around and see what the damage was. The mules, or a part of those hitched to two wagons, had been killed, and the drivers with the surviving mules had deserted the wagons. They were loaded with crackers, and the balance of the train appeared to be in too big a hurry to pay attention to the wagons or their contents. The boys, who had been on half rations for some time, proceeded to stock up with crackers. E. A. Buttolph was missing; Corpl. Jas. L. Cowell and Dennis Conley⁶⁰ were severely wounded in the arms, and Henry W. Bailey and Wencil Dalezal [*sic.* Wentzel Doleshall] slightly wounded in the breasts. The 14th Wis. which was in the rear of the 12th, when they were attacked, advanced over the ground the enemy had occupied when dislodged by the 12th, and found

⁶⁰ There were two men named Dennis Conley in Co. D — one, Dennis Conley, whose wound at Tupelo resulted in the loss of his hand; and Dennis L. Conley, whose death from consumption has already been mentioned by Soper. *Roster and Record*, 2:439. E. A. Buttolph was captured in this engagement; his account of his imprisonment will appear in the final installment of this document.

that the enemy had left twenty killed, and a flag, which they brought away. The 12th went to the support of the 6th Indiana Battery, which had unlimbered, and poured grape, cannister and shells into the enemy, and the woods where they were hiding. The loss of the 12th in this skirmish was twelve wounded and one missing, five of whom belonged to Company D.

While this skirmish was going on, the main part of the Command hurried on towards Tupello to gain a position there before the enemy who appeared to be moving toward the same point on a parallel road. During the remainder of the march, the enemy made it uncomfortable by tossing shells down upon us from some elevations to the right near the road they were marching over. As the Company were moving left in front with John Nicholas in first file next to Capt. Soper, a piece of an exploding shell struck him in the back of the head killing him instantly. Before he had time to fall, Serg't Pangborn, who happened to be to his left, and rear, grabbed him and tossed him into a fence corner, and the march was not interrupted. It was a close call; the others happened to dodge the right way when the explosion occurred. Soon after a halt was made and Samuel Bumgardner sent back to get any valuables he might have on his person to be sent to his friends; and so the poor Bohemian was left without burial — the first of Co. D to re-enlist, and the first of the veterans to fall.

Our army gained the desired location near Tupello for a battle, and the 3rd Brigade filed into Camp — that is, a place to stack arms and lie down, about eight o'clock, and soon made coffee and ate our bacon and hard tack, and slept as soundly as though war and fighting had never been heard of.

The morning of July 14th, 1864, reveille sounded before daylight, and coffee made and breakfast dispatched, and Regiment formed in line before it was light. As soon as the heavy fog lifted, the First Division formed in line of battle; the 3rd Brigade in order right to left; the 35th Iowa, 33rd Missouri, two Companies of the 7th Minnesota, and 12th Iowa on the left; the 6th Indiana Battery on higher ground to the rear, and the eight companies of the 7th Minn. in reserve.⁶¹ The 12th had the most advanced and exposed position in the line, but were behind a rail fence, which was soon taken down and converted into a cover behind which they lay in readiness for the enemy. It was not long before the Cavalry scouts and Infantry Pickets returned before the advancing lines of gray. On they came defiantly

⁶¹ For Col. Woods and Lt. Col. Stibbs's accounts of the battle of Tupelo, see *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 268-71.

sanguine of easy victory over the one hundred days men, as they had been led to believe. But the one hundred days men were at Memphis, and along the road between that place and La Grange. And Smith's twelve thousand men were all veterans, only anxious for a brush with Forrest. When within about thirty rods of the 12th, a terrific storm of grape, cannister and musketry swept them back in wild confusion beyond the reach of musketry. The artillery on both sides redoubled its thunders; officers are plainly seen galloping hither and thither. They form for a second attempt; they advance in two lines; presenting to the view of the 12th more than a half of an unbroken line, but with more modesty and circumspection than before. Again they meet the fire of the artillery and infantry. Again they break and fly for safety beyond the reach of the boys guns, leaving the field covered with dead and wounded. A number take refuge in a small hollow in front of our position. Soon they begin getting up and running back for life. The boys, waiting in line, amuse themselves by shooting at them, and but one or two escape. After an interval of two or three hours a third advance is made, but a weaker and more ineffectual one, with the same result. The 3rd Brigade then charges after the retreating rebels, which causes them to break for the timber, with strife, to see who would get there first. More dead and wounded lay in front of the 12th Iowa than it had men engaged. The 12th Iowa had seven killed, and thirty eight wounded. . . .

Again on the morning of the 15th, reveille sounded before daylight, and breakfast was dispatched when Co. D was sent to the skirmishing line, where, taking a position something like a half mile in front of the other line, it awaited developments.

Cavalry pickets deployed to the right and left of Co. D and advancing, soon began to feel the enemy. The view in front of Co. D was unobstructed for some distance over cleared fields, and the formation and maneuvers of the enemy could be distinctly seen; but they did not appear to be advancing directly upon the skirmish line but disappeared in the timber to the right and left of Co. D.

Soon, however, bullets began to fly, and, with a whiz and a zip, little clouds of dust began to rise about and along the skirmish line; and the Cavalry and skirmishers slowly fell back toward the line of battle. When about a quarter of a mile in front of the line, Capt. Soper ordered a halt and the command, about face, and awaited the enemy's skirmishers.

Soon the enemy's line of battle was seen again advancing and from the

brush and timber both to the right and the left, which appeared to be filled with skirmishers. The bullets came thick and fast. The Cavalry precipitately got out of the way, and Co. D was likewise ordered to fall back upon the line.

The boys commenced falling back, but, as they fell back, the bullets came thicker and faster; not a man was in sight who was within range, so they could do no good by staying. The thicker and faster the bullets came, the faster the boys fell back, until both the officers and the men were in a dead run.

Just at this moment, Jeremiah Williams, a recruit who had joined the Company when returning from their Veteran furlough, a boy only about sixteen years of age, was struck in the hip by a minnie ball, and much disabled. The little fellow cried for help, and Corporal J. W. Burch and Zuver took him between them, and pushed for the most direct point on our line, while all the rest of the Company sought the lowest ground, in order to get as much as possible out of sight and range of the enemy. The bullets flew wonderfully thick about the feet of the Company during that retreat; and it has always been a wonder that half the men were not struck. After the Company had been sent out on the picket line, the 7th Minn. had been substituted in the line for the 12th Iowa; and, when the Company fell back, it found the 7th Minn. in the place they had left. The men were out of breath after their race, and retired out of range for a short rest.

The enemy's line advanced within long range of our line, when they were repulsed and scattered by a few volleys, which were given them as soon as the skirmishers were within the line. . . .

As soon as Burch and Zuver brought Williams within the line, he was placed on a stretcher and carried by the band boys to the field hospital, where the wounded had been taken. In the retreat the boys got separated, but, in less than a quarter of an hour, were all gathered together upon the line, and the Company was searching for the Regiment.

Soon Col. Woods, commanding the Brigade, moving from right to left along the line, gave orders for the Regiments in the line to charge upon the enemy. From here to position of the Right was ascertained, and the Company was conducted to the rear of their place in the Regiment. As soon as the Regiment advanced in the charge, Co. D boys took their position to the right of the colors, crowding over the other Companies to make room for them in their position in the Regiment; and, before the Regiment advanced

five hundred yards in the charge, all, or nearly all, of the Company was in the line charging with the Regiment upon the enemy.

Gen. Mower, commanding the Division, soon ordered a halt, for the reason that the enemy had masked their artillery in the bush, and had made this charge upon our line for the purpose of drawing us out, as he believed, in order to give us a punishment.

Just then Capt. Sample, an officer of his staff, rode forward, and soon returned reporting that a battery of artillery could do much damage to the train of the enemy.

Gen. Mower at once ordered up the 2nd Iowa Battery, which was soon on hand, and took its position, unlimbered, loaded and fired. The first shot taking effect, passing through a wagon, which made the occupants scatter in the greatest haste. Several more shots were fired, but, so far as we were able to observe, did little or no execution.

About this time, there passed by a Battalion of the 9th Ill. Cavalry, at full gallop, with drawn sabers, which they were flourishing right and left. They soon disappeared in the brush in the direction of the enemy. A discharge of musketry and artillery followed. Soon some of our bold Cavalrymen returned, but they did not look half so brave when they came back as they did when they went forward; they fell into the ambush that the General had predicted we were going into when he ordered the halt.

Some further skirmishing occurred during the forenoon; the line advanced, as before stated, was afterwards withdrawn to its original position.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, no enemy being in sight, the 1st Division, 3rd Division and the trains having left in the direction of La Grange during the forenoon, started from the field, following the road taken by the 3rd Division. All of the wounded who were so badly hurt that it would be unsafe to move them, were left in the field hospital with proper Surgeons and nurses, and, of course, immediately fell into the hands of the enemy.⁶²

On this, the third day's fight at Tupello, the 12th had one killed and

⁶² Although Soper's account here makes it appear that the battle of Tupelo was a Union defeat, actually Smith had defeated Forrest and "so stirred up matters in North Mississippi that Forrest could not leave for Tennessee." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:52; *Battles and Leaders*, 4:421-2. Having destroyed the railroad at Tupelo, and running short on supplies and ammunition, Smith withdrew his forces and Forrest could not pursue in force, sending only scattered skirmishers after the retiring Union army.

three wounded; of the latter, was Jeremiah Williams of Co. D, who was dangerously wounded in the hip, and who afterwards died in hospital at Keokuk, Iowa, Oct. 13, 1864, from the effects of the wound.

Soon after leaving the battlefield, the rebels followed and commenced to harass the rear guard, but, whenever a stand was taken, they soon fell back out of reach of our bullets.

After marching about five miles, we crossed Old Town Creek. The enemy was closely following, and the 1st Division, after crossing the Creek, passed through the Camp or Bivouac of the Brigade of Colored troops, and the 3rd Division, who were prepared to receive the enemy, and to a point beyond the train, where they were assigned positions in a grand old forest for their Camp or Bivouac. Scarcely had the Regiment filed into place and stacked arms, before the enemy began throwing shells into our immediate vicinity, which, exploding, frightened the mules and teamsters, and came very nearly stampeding the train. But the artillery very soon had something else to do besides shelling the woods. The 3rd Division and the colored troops were in position near Old Town Creek with several Batteries of artillery, who immediately paid their respects to the advance of the enemy, and in a few moments showed Forrest that we were going forward and not retreating, and the attack was repulsed with severe loss.

That night, the 12th Iowa slept on their arms, after they had boiled their coffee, eaten their bacon and crackers, the sleep of the tired soldier, on beds of pine needles under the pine trees and their blankets.

In the three days fight, the 12th Iowa had nine killed, fifty-four wounded, and one missing. Co. D lost one killed, nine wounded and one missing. Total: eleven out of an aggregate of about forty men. The Brigade only sustained a total loss of ninety three, and the Division three hundred and seventy five. The 12th Iowa sustained a loss greater than any of the other Regiments in the Command, and more than half the loss of the entire Brigade.⁶³

The next morning, July 16th, Gen. Smith's Command marched twelve miles to Ellis, Miss. in the direction of La Grange, but was not molested by the enemy who, evidently, was not anxious for another brush with Smith's

⁶³ Soper's figures are almost correct here. The total loss of the division in killed, wounded, and missing was 383; the 12th Iowa lost a total of 63: 9 killed, 53 wounded, and 1 missing, but the Brigade as a whole lost 196 men: the 7th Minnesota, 60; the 35th Iowa, 37; and the 33rd Mo., 36. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 254-5.

men. The reason for the return was that supplies had run out, and the men would soon be entirely without rations, and nothing could be obtained in the country. On the 17th the army continued its return, reaching New Albany, a distance of sixteen miles further. The next day, the 19th, the Command marched nineteen miles further, and although the men were nearly destitute of rations, and the heat and dust was of the character experienced during their advance, still this days march terminated very satisfactorily, as a supply train was met, and, although only half rations were issued, still it was a cause of general rejoicing throughout; the men were only too glad to have even half rations; and, on the 20th, the return was continued, and eleven miles marched to Davis Mills; and, on the 21st, the Command returned to the Encampment about La Grange, Tenn. The 12th occupied its former Camp on the banks of the Wolf Creek; and, on the 22nd of July, the 3rd Brigade returned by cars to Memphis, Tenn., where it remained about one week.

The Command remained in, and around, Memphis till the 31st of July when the 3rd Brigade followed the balance of the army by cars to La Grange, and thence marched to Davis Mills, and, on Aug. 1st, marched from there to Cold Water Creek five miles from Holly Springs.⁶⁴ Zuver, Flint, and Hill of Co. D, got left; the latter at Memphis, and the two former at Germantown; but who proceeded to return to Memphis in order to get a new start, which all three of them proceeded to take, in company with the Pioneer Corps. All went well, till the train passing La Grange reached Grand Junction [and] turned down the Mississippi Central toward Holly Springs, when they soon found a bridge had been burned, and stopping to repair it, our trio passed on, taking a "tie pass" toward the Command. After several adventures, through all of which they hung to the hams of a shoat they had found and killed, they, late at night, got through the pickets and found their Command.

Col. Woods was in command of all the troops at and about La Grange, and all which took part in the expedition; the troops arriving there, reporting to him. On the morning of the 2nd the troops advanced and occupied

⁶⁴ These repeated "scouts" through Mississippi were for the purpose of keeping Forrest occupied so that he could not move against Sherman, or against Sherman's line of supply. The men, however, were disappointed that they were not with Sherman in Georgia, in a position "where the eyes of the whole country" would be on them. David W. Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry* . . . (n. p. [1903]), 170-71.

Holly Springs; Col. Stibbs was detailed as Provost Marshall, and the 12th Iowa made Provost Guard, and went into quarters in the Court House.

Holly Springs, before the war, was one of the most beautiful cities in the South; containing about six thousand inhabitants. The streets were lined with shade trees, and the gardens and yards of the residents filled with flowers and flowering shrubs, were the abode of wealth and culture.

Details for duty were made, and the boys sent to different portions of the city to prevent pillaging, preserve order, etc. Zuver, who had been made corporal since his muster as veteran, with a detail consisting of [Archibald] Hill, [Robinson L.] Johnson, [William L.] Lee, [John] Luther and [James] Lanagan who had been sent into the South East portion of the city, had quite an experience with a guard of the Kansas (7th) "Jayhawkers" who were taking provisions from a house where there were only several women and children who called lustily for the guard, and, who, when delivered from the Jayhawkers, became very friendly with the guards and treated them with kindness and respect.

The Company had among its numbers one "Jake" Johnson, who though far from being a handsome man, if not positively ugly, was the champion "masher" in the Company, if not in the Regiment. The Company never met with women, or, in fact, never was one in sight, but "Old Jake," as he was familiarly called, proceeded to make himself "solid" with the fair ones. As usual, at Holly Springs, Johnson found a fine residence where were two young ladies of very pronounced Southern sentiments, and, taking the bashful corporal with him, were both captivated by the singers of Southern war songs. Johnson, being accustomed to such scenes and singers, was not visibly affected but it is believed that the young corporal never recalled those delightful evenings without a flutter of the heart, and it is doubtful if the effect is not yet felt. This same corporal, and others of the boys, became very much interested in a simple game called "Muggins,"⁶⁵ when their partner was a Holly Springs girl, and other equally nonsensical games.

On the 3rd the Mississippi Central was repaired and put in operation as far as Holly Springs, and all of the 1st Division had arrived. On the 4th, the 2nd Brigade went forward as far as the Tallahatchie River on the Oxford road, and on the 5th the balance of the Right Wing, with the Brigade of Colored Troops, arrived and on the 6th Generals Smith and Mower arrived

⁶⁵ "Muggins" is either a domino or a card game.

and assumed their respective commands; and Col. Woods returned to the Command of the Brigade. On the 7th, Chaplain [Frederick] Humphrey preached in one of the city Churches. Not a lady present and very few besides blue coats. The 1st Brigade moved forward to join the 2nd on the Oxford road, and on the 8th Gen. Mower, with Col. Woods and the 3rd Brigade, excepting the 12th, joined the Division on the Tallahatchie, and the two Cos. A and F, of the 12th, arrived and joined the Regiment.

They were a sorry looking lot. After having [been] left alone they had constructed a small stockade, and on the night of the 25th of July, 1864,⁶⁶ some four or five hundred rebels came in upon them suddenly and without warning. At the first shots, the boys took [to] the stockade, and with them arms and ammunition, but in their night clothes, and made, with the assistance of the Gunboats, a brave and successful resistance; losing one killed and four wounded. Co. D had no part in this fight, but it is mentioned that the gallant little fight of Cos. A and F may be rescued from oblivion, and attention called to one of the pluckiest fights of the war, as was Tupello to the 12th, so was the fight at the stockade at the mouth of the White River to Cos. A and F.

On the 9th of Aug., the 12th, to their sorrow, was relieved from duty as provost guards at Holly Springs by the 122nd Ills., and took the Mississippi Central road to Waterford, eight miles, and on the 10th crossed the Tallahatchie River and camped near Abbeville, having marched nine miles, where the army remained till the 21st, resting and doing picket duty; while the Cavalry, under Gen. [Benjamin H.] Grierson, scouted the country hunting for Forrest, and our picket posts nightly being fired upon, but, on that day, marched six miles in the direction of Oxford, and went into Camp at Hurricane Creek; and, the next day, entered and took possession of Oxford; the enemy disputing every step of the ground in considerable force. Here news came of Forrest's raid into Memphis,⁶⁷ and orders for the immediate return of the Command.

⁶⁶ At White River, Ark., the two Companies, A and F, of the 12th, some 55 men in all with but 48 rifles, were attacked on June 22, 1864 (not July 25, as Soper states) by some 300 Confederates. Protected by the stockade they had built, the men were able to drive the enemy away. *Ibid.*, 168-9; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 1045-6.

⁶⁷ Forrest had made a detour around the Union army and had struck at Memphis at 4 A. M. The 8th Iowa, on provost guard duty, rallied and drove the raiders out. *Roster and Record*, 1:1066; Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Iowa*, 170.

The city was mostly burned, and the retrograde movement toward La Grange began; the Command reaching and stopping again at Hurricane Creek for the night. On the 23rd, returned to Abbieville, the 2nd Brigade in the rear, and which being attacked with considerable force, as they went into Camp, the 12th was ordered back and bivouacked in supporting distance of the pickets, where Whittam, to his joy, robbed the body of a dead rebel of a good pair of boots; and Corporal [Nathan G.] Price, to play a joke on a couple of sleeping soldiers, cuddled down between them, only to awaken in the morning and find that they were rebs and sleeping the last sleep of all human kind; both of which facts he failed to notice the night before. Among the dead was found one who was recognized as a man the boys had seen standing on a porch viewing the Command pass, claiming to be a citizen.

On the 25th the Command reached Waterford, and on the 26th marched to Holly Springs. Prominent citizens met the Command with a flag of truce, and asking for the detail of Col. Stibbs, and the 12th Iowa for provost guard in the city, which was granted by Gen. Smith; the Command halted and the 12th sent for from the rear and escorted into town by the citizens and was assigned to duty.⁶⁸ Zuver's squad was assigned to that portion of the city wherein resided the father of Confederate Gen. Walthals [sic. Edward Cary Walthall]. At this place, Zuver found a 2nd N. J. Cavalry man depredating, and with whom he had some words mingled with profanity. The Cavalry man left when the corporal was called by a lady, and asked why he had used such unbecoming language. As the result of the interview, Zuver apologized, was invited into the house by the lady, a sister of the General, where he met her parents and her children, a daughter about seventeen years old and a son younger, and was very kindly and cordially treated during the remainder of his stay on provost duty. When the Regiment, which was the last of the troops to start, left Holly Springs, Mr. and Mrs. Walthal, in the presence of the daughter, Mrs. Freeman, grasped Zuver by the hand with a "God bless you, if ever captured by our son, or can get to him, inform him who you are, and the relation you have sus-

⁶⁸ According to the historian of the 12th Iowa, Gen. A. F. Smith made this comment, when the citizens of Holly Springs asked for the 12th Iowa as provost guards: "The 12th Iowa is one of my best fighting regiments. I think it is a doubtful compliment for you — — rebels to want it to guard your — — town, and an imposition on the regiment to ask them to do it; but if those boys are willing to stand guard they may." Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Iowa*, 172-3.

tained to us here and we are sure you will be paroled and permitted to come here and remain with us, until released, or exchanged." . . .

We can only say the 12th Iowa were gentlemen; they treated the people of Holly Springs decently, and obeyed their instructions without pillaging or robbery. They were young men, and commanded by young, good looking and soldierly officers. Be the cause what it may, the people of Holly Springs liked the 12th as well as probably they would any "Yanks," and Gen. Smith, in the presence of Surgeon [Sandford W.] Huff of the 12th, and of his Hd Qrs clerk Frank D. Thompson of Co. D, made the remark, "That 12th Iowa is the D——st Regiment I ever saw; they fought like devils at Tupello, and now are trying to marry their (the rebels) women." Whether the boys tried or not, history is silent, but the fact remains that they did not any way.

On the 28th of Aug., the day the 12th evacuated Holly Springs, it marched twenty miles on what was known as the "Pigeon Roost" road with scarcely any water, and an awful amount of heat and dust, and went into Camp at Davis Mills and, on the 30th, was conveyed by rail to Memphis, having put in the summer chasing Forrest, but only catching him once. It had been rumored that Smith's Command had been ordered to the Potomac, as Gen. Grant was known to be desirous of having some Westerners, and Smith in particular, and we all came on expecting to see the coast and that Grand Army.

AFTER PRICE

On the 1st day of September, 1864, the Command received orders to prepare for a ten days trip, in light marching order, which meant to carry guns, accoutrements with forty rounds of ammunition, canteen and haversack, usually containing three days rations, and such blankets and shelter tents as a soldier cares to carry.

Since the summer of 1863 the army had been supplied with, to each man, a half of a shelter or dog tent, as they were usually called, which was simply a piece of canvas about six and one half feet long by three feet wide, one side of which is furnished with a row of buttons, and the opposite side with a row of button holes with an eyelet in each corner for the cord with which the corner of the tent is fastened to the ground; any number of these halves of shelter tents would be fastened together and frequently several members of a squad fastened all theirs together, covering quite a space; the intention

was, however, that two of these pieces or halves should be fastened together, and then stretched from a ridge pole, something like the fly of a tent, and thereby formed a shelter for two men.

Accordingly, all the preparations having been made and the large tents, baggage, clothing and blankets, except rubber blankets and shelter tents, being left at Memphis with the convalescents, the regiment on the 2nd of Sept. embarked on the steamer "Mattie," and with other steamers having on board the 1st Division of the 16th Army Corps, descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the White River⁶⁹ and thence up the White River to St. Charles, where, by reason of some of the boats of the flotilla getting aground, the 12th disembarked from the "Mattie," and the "Mattie" was sent down to bring up some of the troops left on the steamer "John Runyon," which had to unload in order to proceed as far up the river as St. Charles. The whole division disembarked at St. Charles and remained several days. While at St. Charles, the 2nd New Jersey cavalry stole from Co. Q — in every Co. and Regiment, Co. Q. were the foragers, the fellows who took everything that they found that they thought they would like, and were able to carry — a brass kettle, and [John N.] Weaver was sent out to find it; he started out through the camps and found the lost kettle hanging over the fire in the cavalry camp, filled with dried apples which were being stewed. Weaver did not stand on ceremony, but proceeded immediately to take possession of the kettle and contents, and heeding neither explanations nor expostulations, proceeded to the quarters of Co. Q where he was received with great applause.

On the afternoon of the 7th of Sept., Gen. Mower having returned from Devall's Bluff, whither he had proceeded when the command disembarked at St. Charles, the division immediately re-embarked, and while awaiting the signal to start much banter, threats and vulgar braggadocio were indulged in between the commands on the several steamers, in which the Irish wit of Jimmie Gallagher told for the 12th Iowa. The command soon proceeded up the river and landed at Devall's Bluff, late in the evening; and on the 9th the division disembarked and went into camp some distance back of the landing; the town of Devall's Bluff, consisting of a steamboat landing with a few Government store houses for storing supplies, was situated at the

⁶⁹ The Division, instead of going eastward to join either Sherman or Grant, was being sent into Arkansas, where Confederate General Sterling Price had organized a force and was threatening Little Rock. *Ibid.*, 174-5.

point where the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad crossed the White River.

On the 10th of September the division left Devall's Bluff at about 2:30 P. M., and marched eighteen miles, crossing a level treeless plain covered with coarse grass about as high as one's waist or shoulders, it was a very hot evening and there was no water until the prairie was crossed; the sun was hot and there was very little air stirring, and when the regiment formed line to stack arms for the night, very few of the regiment were in ranks.

On the next day, the 11th, the command marched seven miles and went into camp at Brownsville, Ark., in the woods near the cypress swamps, which abound in that locality, and where possums and rattle snakes flourish. The 12th was encamped on a portion of land that might be described as a narrow peninsula between swamps, and the Co. being somewhat cramped for room the boys buttoned together their dog tents, so as to make almost a continuous line of canvas, under which they lay sheltered from the sun and dews, sleeping side by side, but it was rather too warm weather to spoon, although the nights at that time were quite cold, while the days were intensely hot. The boys manifested a great deal of ingenuity in pitching these shelter tents, using various appliances to convert them into shelter, using their muskets when sticks and boards were not convenient and fence rails not attainable.

The Command remained at Brownsville six days, during which everything was put in order for the march; the sick having been sent to Little Rock,⁷⁰ and the trains having arrived and been loaded up with supplies. On the 17th the 1st Division of the right wing of the 16th corps, with a cavalry division formerly commanded by Grierson, under Gen. Winslow,⁷¹ which had come across the country from Memphis, and the fourth Brigade of the 1st Division composed of the 16th and 33rd Wis., and the 72nd and 95th Ill. which had been with us on the Tupello expedition, having joined the command, the command marched out from Brownsville in a northeasterly direction and went into camp the first night near where the boys saw a deserted steam engine, and christened the camp "Steam Engine Grove."

⁷⁰ Price had not moved against Little Rock, as was supposed, but was heading north toward Missouri. *Ibid.*, 175.

⁷¹ Edward F. Winslow, at this time Colonel of the 4th Iowa Cavalry, had been placed in command of the 16th Army Corps Cavalry for this expedition. Winslow was brevetted a Brig. Gen., Dec. 12, 1864. *Roster and Record*, 4:832.

On the next day, the 18th, the regiment marched seventeen miles in the direction of Searcy and went into camp at what is known as Bull Run, Ark., having passed through Austin and Stony Point; and on the 19th marched eighteen miles, passing through the town of Searcy, and went into camp on the east bank of a small stream known as Little Red River. On the next day, the 20th, the command crossed the Little Red River, marched fifteen miles, going into camp at one o'clock in the afternoon at what is known as Five Mile Creek, but the train did not arrive at camp until after dark. On the 21st the command marched twenty two miles to McGuire's Ford on the White River, through about the roughest country to be found in the West, being spurs of the Ozark Mts. Some of the wagons having been relieved of their stores and supplies by this time, returned to Brownsville from this place.

On the 22nd the command having crossed the White River on pontoon bridges, marched fifteen miles and went into camp in a swamp on Honey Creek, where the boys had to make use of a roadway to bunk on to keep from sinking in the mud; it was late in getting into camp, and the command halted in the swamp to cover and await the building of a bridge across the Black River which was accomplished in the afternoon of the 23rd, when the command crossed over to Elgin and marched ten miles to Miller's Church, camping one and one half miles from water. On the 24th the command advanced to Lauratium, Ark., a distance of twenty miles, passing over a good country, and the boys made good use of the paw paws, squashes and potatoes with which the country abounded, and were more successful in foraging than in catching up with "Old Pap" Price, whom we were supposed to be pursuing, but who seemed to keep a week or ten days ahead of us all the time; the general course of our advance being up the Black or North Fork of the White River in the direction of Pilot Knob and Iron Mt.

On the 25th a march of twenty three miles was made to a point on the east side of the Black River opposite Pocahontas; and on the 26th we marched eighteen miles, sending out foragers to help lengthen out the fast deserting rations. Six miles above Pocahontas the Cavalry crossed the Black with the expectation of being followed by the infantry, but, on account of the depth of the waters, the river was not fordable, and there being no bridges, the infantry was compelled to keep upon the right bank of the stream, and was therefore in advance; when the cavalry found that the in-

fantry could not cross the river, it recrossed, and followed up the infantry, and during the night passed through the infantry camp, which, by reason of such fact, was christened by the boys "Camp Cavalry Passing."

On the 27th a march of seventeen miles was made over muddy roads, and a rainy bad day, camping at the camp known as "Turn Around," this peculiar name the Co. gave it on account of the fact that every one that struck out to Jaw Hawk, or to get water, got lost — turned around. On the 28th of Sept. the command advanced a distance of fifteen miles and Camped at Cane Creek two miles north of the Mo. state line, and three miles from where the command had recrossed the Black on a bridge made of logs and brush.

But few residents were in the country, and in point of ignorance and want of intelligence compared very favorably with the inhabitants of Tenn. and Miss., with whom the regiment came in contact while at Chewalla, Tenn. On the 29th an advance of only eight miles was made on account of the extremely swampy condition of the roads; but on the 30th the command got out of the swamp and struck higher ground at Poplar Bluffs, and five miles further recrossed the Black by fording the same at eleven o'clock in the night, and then went into camp, having marched during the day a distance of twenty miles.

On Oct. 1st, it having rained all the previous night, and during the forenoon, making the camp and the roads equally disagreeable, an advance of twelve miles was made over a more hilly country to High Hill; and on the 2nd marched fourteen miles during the day, having taken the wrong road, and advanced some distance over the same before the error was discovered, and the distance thereupon countermarched; during that day forded the St. Francis river and went into camp near Greenville, Mo. On the 3rd of Oct. a march of sixteen miles was made, passing through Hog Eye and crossing Caster River, and going into camp at Brick Eye, Mo., where news was received that Price was destroying the Iron Mountain railroad and pushing toward the North; and orders for Mower to reach Cape Girardeau as soon as possible. . . .

The head of the column having turned in the direction of Cape Girardeau, on the 4th the command marched thirty miles although it rained incessantly all day and the roads for about eight miles were very bad; but at Dallas, a gravel pike was struck and from that time better progress was

made. The command went into camp that night on the Whitewater; and on the 5th after receiving supplies sent up from Cape Girardeau, made a twenty mile march to that place, striking the old military stone road at Jackson, twelve miles from the Cape. The last eight miles was marched in two hours and forty-five minutes. The command reached and went into camp early in the afternoon near the city of Cape Girardeau; we found it rather a nice, old fashioned town about the size of Dubuque, Iowa, but we learned it was fast losing its prestige on account of the railroad being constructed in the interior, which drew away its trade to St. Louis.

During the 6th the command awaited transportation but improved the time by making out requisitions for clothing; nearly every man's shoes were soleless, and his pants and blouse much dilapidated, and the nights had now become cool, and the command brought with them from St. Louis only dog tents and rubber blankets, and therefore suffered very much from cold, which followed the rains through which we had been marching. On the 7th the command commenced embarking in the steamers; the 12th Iowa, the 7th Minn. and two companies of 2nd New Jersey cavalry were assigned to steamer Armenia, which arrived as it had started in the lead, and which had arrived at St. Louis at noon of the 8th. On the 9th the 12th was transferred to the steamer "Empire City" with the 33rd Missouri and brigade headquarters, then on board, and drew clothing, requisitions for which had been made out at Cape Girardeau.

On the afternoon of the 10th, all the division having arrived and been equipped with new clothing etc., started on up stream to the mouth of the Mo., and thence into the Missouri River and up to St. Charles, where, on account of the excessive darkness, and low stage of the water, the fleet tied up for the night. St. Charles was situated on the right or north bank of the Missouri River at the crossing of what was then known as the North Missouri Railroad and at this time was noted for its great iron bridge, the first that was built spanning the Big Muddy. Only twenty miles advance was made on the 11th, and not to exceed three on the 12th, the steamers having frequently stuck on the sand bars; the boys marched three or four miles up along the banks of the stream; other troops frequently likewise disembarking and marching along the banks during the trip. On the 13th the "Empire City" advanced a short distance reaching Washington where Price's forces had left their mark; about the same success attended the advance on the 14th and 15th, but, by the boys marching four or five miles, the steamer

managed to pass Herman, Mo., on the 16th, reaching the mouth of the Gasconade River with the boys again on the shore marching, and where they camped that night without their extra clothing or dog tents.

Somewhat better success attended the advance on the 17th, but finally on the morning of the 18th the "Empire City" landed at Jefferson City, being the last boat of the flotilla to reach the landing. The command did not long tarry at Jefferson City, but, disembarking, took the cars on the Mo. Pa. R. R., and that night on the top of box cars in the clear cold moonlight were off to Laramie Bridge and there unloaded on the morning of the 19th, and after three o'clock that afternoon marched to Sedalia, Mo., a distance of sixteen miles, where the 12th went into camp, but were soon ordered forward to join the brigade by Gen. Smith who had just arrived with the 3rd division.⁷² The boys did not wait to heed or listen to the order, but scattered in all directions to houses, barns, cars, or any place where they could find shelter and protection from the cold, and slept until the morning of the 20th. The 12th was still in the rear, the 10th Minn. had proceeded two miles further during the night, with the exception of the 4th brigade which was left at Laramie Bridge, and the 14th Iowa, which belonged to the 3rd division, which was left at California, Mo., awaiting discharge as but few of the regiment had re-enlisted.

In the mean time Gen. Mower had been transferred to the command of the division in the 17th corps, which made Col. Woods again the commander of the division and Col. Hill [Sylvester G. Hill of the 35th Iowa] of the brigade. Col. [William T.] Shaw of the 14th Iowa, still held command of the 3rd division; and Gen. Smith of the right wing of the corps. On that day, the 20th, the 12th marched thirty miles, not keeping closely in the wake of the Army, on its way to join its division, and camped independently and alone in a corn field, and the next morning, the 21st, moved forward and struck the line of march of the Army in advance of the corps, awaiting the 3rd division, and when it arrived, they took their position in the brigade which was in the advance of the division, and during the day marched twenty-five miles to Lexington, Mo., at that time the second largest city in the state, situated on the Missouri River.

⁷² Smith, with two divisions of the 16th Army Corps, had been on the way to join Sherman at Atlanta when diverted by orders of Gen. Rosecrans, in command in Missouri. Sherman was angered by this, considering Price's operations in Missouri as "mere diversions." Reed, *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Iowa*, 180.

Cavalry skirmishing was steadily going on along the line of march; the cavalry in this expedition against Price was in command of Gen. Pleasington [sic. Maj. Gen. Alfred Pleasanton]; while Gen. Smith commanded the infantry and artillery, and Gens. [Samuel Ryan] Curtis and [James G.] Blunt were in front of Price's skedaddling army. Gen. Rosecrans was in command of the department of the Missouri and of the whole army, and during the night, as the 12th Iowa was about to enter the city, he passed along the line, seemingly in a very great hurry and at a speed that caused the feet of his and his escort's horses to throw mud over the boys of whom some resented by clubbing their muskets.

The 12th camped that night on the river bottom above the city, and on the 22nd marched with the Army to Black's Ford, a distance of twenty-two miles; passing during the day evidence of a running fight which had taken place between the rebels and our cavalry. On the 23rd the command marched thirty-five miles and stopped and cooked supper and rested for an hour or more, and then proceeded toward the front, where it was expected that a battle would be fought with Price's forces, which were expected to be surrounded, arriving at the scene of the battle on the Big Blue at seven A. M. of the 24th, but too late to take part in the fight, having marched forty-eight miles in twenty-two consecutive hours.

The cavalry had let Price get away but were following him toward the Indian territory whither he was flying with his disorganized command, but succeeded in capturing fifteen hundred, or more, including Gen. [John S.] Marmaduke. The 12th remained on the battle ground of the Big Blue during the day, resting from their twenty-two hours march.

On the 25th the line of march was again taken up, and the command moved eighteen miles, crossing the state line into Kansas at Santa Fe, Mo., and thence forward two miles; and on the 26th marched twenty-nine miles to Harrisonville, Mo., the county seat of Cass county, where the command received half rations of flour, equal to one good meal a day. The country had been laid waste by Quantrell's⁷³ guerrilla band, and there were many refugees at Harrisonville, and about the stockade there, who hailed the arrival of the Union Army with pleasure.

⁷³ William Clarke Quantrill, the notorious Kansas raider and outlaw, whose murders and robberies during the Civil War are legend. He was killed on a raid into Kentucky in 1865. See William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910).

On the 27th the D Companys of the 12th and 35th Iowa were made provost guards at Harrisonville and took up their quarters in the Arizona Hotel. A Mr. Orr of Marblerock, Iowa, commissioner of the soldiers election, arrived and brought with him poll sheets for the purpose of receiving the vote of the Iowa regiments in the command at the general election to be held in Nov. for the state and national officers. A meeting of the regiment was called and Maj. Van Duzee, Sergt [Henry J.] Grannis, Co. C and private Easley [?] of Co. F. elected judges of election to be held Nov. 8th. On the 28th Col. Stibbs left for Memphis for the purpose of getting the camp and garrison equipage transferred from that place to the command, leaving Maj. Van Duzee in command of the regiment. On the 29th rations arrived; and on the 30th the army was again in motion, but instead of following Price further, the command was ordered to return toward St. Louis, and marched twelve miles to Pleasant Hill, Mo. Here the dishonorable discharge of Col. Shaw of the 14th Iowa, for publishing the truth about Gen. Banks expedition up Red River, was first learned, to the deep sorrow of the command, and although rough and outspoken, [Col. Shaw] had many friends.⁷⁴

On the 21st the command were ordered to proceed by different routes to the Missouri river, and the first division moved to Chapel Hill, Mo., a distance of twenty miles, when the 3rd brigade was directed to proceed to Arrow Rock on the Missouri river, and there cross over and follow down the stream on the left bank to a point opposite St. Charles, Mo. On the 1st of Nov. the brigade marched to Davis creek, a distance of twenty miles; and on the 2nd, having received orders to march to Sedalia the command marched a distance of twenty-five miles, striking the Lexington & Sedalia road and camped at Snow's Creek four miles east of Dunkburg. Here they found a detachment of the rebels had passed by a half hour previously. . . .

On the 3rd twenty miles was marched, seventeen of which was done in five hours, and that through mud, sleet, snow and swollen streams. The command was ordered to go into camp about one mile from Sedalia, but, as the ground was covered with several inches of snow, upon several inches of mud and water, and snow was falling so thickly that you could see but a

⁷⁴ Col. Wm. T. Shaw of the 14th Iowa had taken part in the disastrous Red River campaign under Gen. N. B. Banks in early 1864. His caustic comments on this campaign and on the officers, published in the *Dubuque Times*, resulted in his dismissal from the service. *Stuart, Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 271-80.

short distance, Maj. Van Duzee went forward into town to procure shelter for the regiment and about sunset the 12th pressed forward into Sedalia taking quarters in an old ware house, the boys scattering and seeking shelter wherever shelter could be found. Some of the boys found shelter at the residences of some of the citizens, others in stables and hay mows.

The brigade having arrived, Col. Woods returned to its command; Gen. McArthur being in command of the division. The afternoon and evening at and near Sedalia were spent in great discomfort, as the storm was severe, and it was difficult to boil coffee or sleep without freezing. Orders were received to march to Jefferson City. The next morning was clear and cold with snow on the ground several inches deep, and the brigade did not get into line for a very early start, but finally got started, when the boys had a choice of a very slushy road, or a tie pass on the railroad, many taking the latter. But twenty miles were covered, and camp made near Syracuse, Mo., for the night. Snow had to be scraped off the ground before fire could be kindled, and the preparation of beds if one desired to sleep out of the mud and wet by scraping off the snow and gathering oak twigs with leaves on them was something of an undertaking.

On the 5th the command marched nineteen miles, camping five miles west of California, Mo., and on the 6th lessened by nineteen miles more the distance to Jefferson City, which was made on the 7th, after a wet and weary tramp from Sedalia, and camped two miles east of the city at the fair grounds. Here the command received orders to march through to St. Louis, and Sergt. [Lyman M.] Ayres, Price, Zuver, Johnson, Dolisall, and [Andrew J.] Frees being unfit for the march were left to come by boat. The next forenoon the command started out and forded the Osage River more than a quarter of a mile wide, taking off our pants and shoes. The water was cold and the men anything but happy; when we stopped, stacked arms and dried ourselves, made coffee, and the most of us voted for Abraham Lincoln for President, though the fording of the river made scores of votes for Little Mac, and peace at any price. Results of ballot in regiment, A. Lincoln 193, McClellan, 31.

That afternoon and evening the rain descended in torrents, but we plodded along until several hours after dark through a very rough and hilly country, and finally went into camp on the precipitous hills near Westphalia, Mo., having marched twenty miles of which fourteen was made after

three P. M. That march and the night that followed will hardly be forgotten by those who were with the regiment. By the time coffee was cooked and supper over it was near midnight; the dog tents were pitched and soon all were slumbering. Suddenly from out of the blackness of the heavens poured streams of water; the side hills were soon covered with rushing torrents, and in less time than it takes to write it the most of the boys felt streams of cold water running down their backs, through their beds and into their shoes. Tent flies and shelter tents were no protection from these torrents and soon every one was astir, and into his clothes, and hunting for some place of shelter. Towards morning the rain ceased, but the wind changed to the northwest and everything froze. Firewood was plenty, but the axes were dull and scarce; officers and men were alike destitute of money, but enough was scraped together to buy an ax and a committee sent to the store in the little German village, and the purchase made. Log heaps were soon on fire, and the soaked clothing and blankets dried.

The command did not move that day, and on the next the weather remained cold, and the line of march for St. Louis was again taken up on the 10th and a march of twenty miles made, crossing the Little Osage River on fallen trees, and at 8 P. M. on Possum creek, and on the 11th marched eighteen miles crossing the Gasconade river about noon on flat boats and wagons. On the 12th of Nov. marched thirty-six miles and camped near a small creek on the St. Louis and Springfield road and on the 13th, Sunday, marched twenty-nine miles passing through Uniontown at 9 P. M. On Nov. 14th marched twenty-five miles crossing the Missouri Pacific Railroad and went into camp at six P. M., and on Tuesday, Nov. 15th, at three P. M. after marching twenty-seven miles gayly entered Benton Barracks, a hard looking crowd, but hardened soldiers able to endure almost any amount of hardships and fatigue. The march after crossing the Gasconade had been over better roads and although the weather was cold the rain had ceased and supplies were abundant.

We had left Memphis on the 2nd of Sept. on a ten days trip with the expectation of having little or no marching, and the men were illy provided for the march that was made to Cape Girardeau. We brought no blankets, but rubbers; and many had no shoes which had been on the march after Forrest, and which soon came to pieces, and, as they could not be supplied, the owner had to wrap his feet in rags or go barefoot. In the 12th Iowa

alone five officers and one hundred and ten men came into Cape Girardeau without shoes. The trip from the Laramie Bridge east of Sedalia to the Big Blue and back to St. Louis was made in a more inclement season, but the men were better provided and there was less of actual want and suffering than when in the wilds of Missouri and Arkansas.

[To be continued.]

SOURCE MATERIAL OF IOWA HISTORY

A BURLINGTON EDITOR COMMENTS ON THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858

[The now famous Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 in Illinois aroused little interest or attention in Iowa newspapers, busy with their own state's political campaign. Some newspapers of the Mississippi River towns, however, being closer to the scene than those inland in Iowa, paid passing tribute to the Illinois canvass. Clark Dunham, one of the foremost journalists in Iowa at that time, was editor of the Burlington *Hawk-Eye*. An enthusiastic Republican, Dunham wrote editorials on the debates which were naturally favorable to Lincoln and critical of Douglas. Born in Vermont in 1816, Dunham and a brother-in-law had come to Iowa in 1854, bought the *Hawk-Eye*, and, after the formation of the Republican party in the state in 1856, had made the paper a strong supporter of the new party.]

The seven Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 took place in Ottawa, August 21; Freeport, August 27; Jonesboro, September 15; Charleston, September 18; Galesburg, October 7; Quincy, October 13; and Alton, October 15. Dunham did not give editorial notice to each debate, but from time to time wrote editorials, highly unfavorable to Stephen A. Douglas and particularly to the Illinois Senator's "Freeport Doctrine," enunciated in his speech at that Illinois town. This "Doctrine," that the people of a territory could lawfully exclude slavery in spite of the Dred Scott Decision, lost Douglas much Southern support in the 1860 presidential campaign. In his editorial on September 2, 1858, Dunham, recognizing the importance of Douglas' statement, ridiculed the "Doctrine" from the Republican point of view. The Lincoln-Douglas debates have been printed in book form several times, the latest edition being Paul M. Angle (ed.), *Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958).]

Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, August 27, 1858:

THE DIFFERENCE — The Republicans of Illinois, with Mr. Lincoln at their head, are conducting the canvass with the most perfect fairness and courtesy, although with great spirit. On every occasion, whether in discussion or speaking separately, Mr. Lincoln has treated his opponent with perfect courtesy and fairness — never misrepresenting him in a single instance or using language coarse or unbecoming. To make the result hinge

upon a perfect understanding of the points at issue, the speeches of both Douglas and Lincoln have been reported verbatim, with an accuracy not denied in any quarter, and published side by side in all the leading Republican papers. This is a new feature in the canvass, which is much to the credit of the Republicans of Illinois. We hope to see the same feature becoming general over the country in future contests.

But how has this spirit been met by Mr. Douglas? We are pained to say that he has not, as might have been reasonably anticipated, deported himself in a similar manner. He has exhibited ill-nature and coarse invective when speaking of his adversary, and he persisted on almost every occasion in misrepresenting his positions and falsifying his record. "You're a liar" is his knock-down argument. He speaks in boastful and vulgar language — talks about bringing Mr. Lincoln "to his milk," and uses epithets and terms of denunciation and abuse unworthy of the high position he aspires to occupy before the country. At Ottawa, he committed a most shameless fraud and deception — one that would have consigned him to a call at Alton had it been made with a view to gain. He read a resolution, ultra on the subject of slavery, which he asserted was found in the platform of the Republican Party, gotten up by Lincoln and others, and adopted by the Republican party of Illinois assembled in State Convention, at Springfield, on the 5th of October, 1854, when it was taken from the proceedings of a town meeting held at Aurora. With this falsehood upon his lips, he attempted, in the worst spirit, and with a meanness which his enemies hardly attributed to him, to make Mr. Lincoln appear as the author, and the Republican party responsible for a resolution which Lincoln never saw and few of the Republicans ever heard of.

Losing the courtesy of his first speech, and at every succeeding appearance upon the stump becoming less a gentleman and more a blackguard, he uses at Ottawa the epithet "Black Republicans" frequently.

With one single exception the courtesy of publishing both Lincoln's and Douglas' speeches side by side has not been extended by any Douglas paper. None have ventured to let their readers see what Mr. Lincoln says for himself with the exception of the Chicago Times, which reports both speeches at Ottawa, but takes care to emasculate Mr. Lincoln's before it ventures on its publication. His language is modified, altered, and the force of his strong points broken and subdued. That this is designedly so is very apparent from the fact that Douglas' remarks are accurately and spiritedly reported.

Thus is the canvass conducted in Illinois. On one side, with truthfulness and fair-dealing, so that right may prevail. On the other, with equivocation, falsehood, deception and fraud. Upon one side we find the utmost courtesy and good humor; — upon the other, coarse invective and opprobrious epithets. Upon one side we find the newspapers publishing correct and undeniably authentic copies of the speeches of the rival candidates; — upon the other, but one solitary journal in the whole State publishes, and it but a single mutilated speech of Lincoln. That is the way things are done in Illinois.

Ibid., September 2, 1858:

A NEW TRICK — Judge Douglas, as every body has seen recently, is, to use a vulgarism, “in a tight place.” All efforts to bring around a reconciliation with the Administration have failed. His peace commissioners have returned from their pilgrimage to Washington and report Buchanan inexorable. The Little Giant [Douglas] can get no quarter in that direction. On the other hand Lincoln is pressing him very hard — harrowing his sensibilities by showing up the monstrous inconsistencies and absurdities of his record and hollowness and rottenness of the principles and political axioms which he professes. But most damaging of all, [Lyman] Trumbull demonstrated at Alton, from the [Congressional] Record, that Douglas, in June, 1856, struck from the Toombs enabling act for Kansas, the clause requiring the Constitution to be submitted to the people for approval or rejection, and not only so, but to cover the whole case, added a clause in express terms requiring that “no other election should be held in the Territory,” thus prohibiting any submission. This is a clincher which fastens a bundle of absurdities, not to say falsehoods, upon the back of the Little Giant that he cannot shake off. Instead of bringing Abe Lincoln “to his milk,” “trotting him out,” cutting off Trumbull’s ears, and doing a great many other things threatened in vulgar and boastful language, he is having his time very well occupied in “saving his own bacon.” Although he came to Chicago with a great flourish of trumpets and entered upon his canvass with the booming of cannon and the clangor of brazen instruments loaded upon cars chartered with his own means, and made a very general display of bags in which was to be stored the wool shorn from the “Black Republicans,” yet the indications now are that he has already fallen into the hands of the shearers, and is making a great outcry because the clip is very close to the cuticle.

The stress of Douglas' condition is well illustrated in his recent enunciation at Freeport. — Up to that time he had endorsed the Dred Scott decision, although it swallowed up popular sovereignty by declaring that neither Congress nor the people had the power, under the Constitution, to exclude slavery from the territories. At Freeport, to relieve himself from the ridiculous absurdity of this position, he declared that the people had the right while in a territorial condition, to exclude slavery. Of course this is at war with the Supreme Court — the Dred Scott decision. It effectually kills the fine spun theory of property in negroes, so sacred and so well protected in the Constitution as to secure to slave-holders the right to take this property unquestioned and unmolested into all the territories. For the last two years himself and his friends have put this forth as the quintessence of National Democracy. Every man who did not endorse it was cast out as a Sectionalist, an Abolitionist and Amalgamationist — a Black Republican — a woolly! We were called, those of us who refused to bow submissively to the pronunciamento of the negro-drivers and their toadies, made through the Supreme Court, enemies to the Union, to the Constitution, and a string of opprobrious epithets too vulgar to repeat here. We were lectured by the whole galaxy of Union-savers and most pathetically implored to "acquiesce." Now, forsooth, the ringleader — the man who expected to be made President by the repeal of the compromises and the nationalization of slavery, but wasn't, thinks negro slaves may be excluded from a territory! Where sleep the thunders of the National Democracy?

What next?

Ibid., October 5, 1858:

BAD SELL — The Democracy got up an extempore Douglas demonstration last night of which they are a little sick. They printed bills, employed the band and drummed up a large crowd at Mozart Hall to hear Douglas. He came from Oquawka in the Keokuk, made a very tame speech of half an hour which disappointed every body and materially lengthened the visages of his admirers. Since he undertook to bring Abe to his milk, Douglas has lost his pluck. His bold and defiant manner is not exhibited. There is very little of the "Giant" about him. His speech was a small potato affair.

Mr. Starr [Henry W. Starr, an attorney and former mayor of Burlington] undertook to cover the retreat of Douglas and followed up his meagre speech

with a lengthened harangue after the manner of Mr. Starr, which we consider a very proper finale.

Ibid., October 8, 1858:

MR. LINCOLN
HAS CONSENTED TO SPEAK IN THIS CITY
SATURDAY EVENING NEXT

Those who attended the debate at Galesburg yesterday returned last night. They say it was an immense gathering of the people, some twelve thousand persons being present. Those we conversed with think Mr. Lincoln the ablest and most popular speaker they ever heard — say he had altogether the advantage of Douglas in the argument, even Douglas' friends acknowledging it.

Mr. Lincoln speaks at Oquawka Saturday. — All who desire to hear him there can go up and return in the Rock Island packet. After he has finished speaking there he will come down on the boat to this city, and speak on the street if the weather will permit, if not in Grimes' Hall. He says he has got so used to speaking that it don't hurt him a bit, and he will talk just as long as we want to hear him!

Huzza for Lincoln!

Ibid., October 11, 1858.

ABE LINCOLN'S SPEECH AT GRIMES HALL.

Saturday evening [October 9] Grimes' Hall was filled to its full capacity by citizens of Burlington and vicinity for the purpose of listening to a speech from Mr. Lincoln, the man who all Republicans desire and a great many are very certain will succeed Judge Douglas as Senator from the State of Illinois. So great is the sympathy felt here in the spirited canvass in Illinois, and so high is the opinion entertained of the ability of Mr. Lincoln as a speaker that a very short notice brought together from twelve to fifteen hundred ladies and gentlemen.

High, however, as was the public expectation, and much as was anticipated, he, in his address of two hours, fully came up to the standard that had been erected. It was a logical discourse, replete with sound argument, clear concise and vigorous, earnest, impassioned and eloquent. Those who heard recognized in him a man fully able to cope with the Little Giant any where, and altogether worthy to succeed him.

We regret exceedingly that it is not in our power to report his speech in full this morning. We know that we could have rendered no more acceptable service to our readers. But it is not in our power.

Mr. Lincoln appeared Saturday evening fresh and vigorous. There was nothing in his voice, manner or appearance to show the arduous labors of the last two months — nothing to show that the immense labors of the canvass had worn upon him in the least. In this respect he has altogether the advantage of Douglas, whose voice is cracked and husky, temper soured, and general appearance denoting exhaustion.

Mr. Lincoln remained in the City at the Barrett House and goes, we believe, to Monmouth to-day.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 213 new members during the months of April, May, and June, 1958. In addition, nine members became Life Members during that period: Mrs. Vern Bales, Iowa City; Howard Brayton, Albuquerque, New Mexico; W. R. Livingston, Iowa City; C. L. McDowell, Des Moines; W. Howard Smith, Cedar Rapids; James M. Stewart, Des Moines; Mrs. Helen Vanderburg, Shell Rock; Charles E. Wittenmeyer, Davenport; and John Plank, Salem, Oregon.

The eleventh annual steamboat cruises on the Mississippi, in the *Addie May*, took place on June 21 and 22, June 28 and 29, and July 12 and 13. The cruises were from Nauvoo in Illinois to Keokuk, through Cooper Lake, and tours in Keokuk and Nauvoo were arranged.

Ground-breaking ceremonies for the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building took place on June 7, 1958, with members of the Society's board of curators and University of Iowa officials present.

Superintendent William J. Petersen received an honorary doctor of laws degree at the June 9 commencement at Iowa Wesleyan College at Mount Pleasant.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

April 16	Attended O. D. Collis' eightieth birthday party aboard the <i>Rob Roy III</i> at Clinton.
April 17	Opened bids for Society's new Centennial Building at Iowa Memorial Union, Iowa City.
April 24-25	Attended Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in Minneapolis.
April 26	Addressed state meeting of the American Association of University Women at Waterloo.
April 30	Addressed Muscatine Women's Club.
May 14	Addressed Mahaska County Historical Society meeting at Oskaloosa.

- May 17 Conferred with officers at the annual meeting of Iowa Business and Professional Women at Waterloo.
- May 22 Delivered commencement address at Holstein.
- May 23 Spoke before Professional Men's Club at Sioux City.
- May 27 Delivered commencement address at Elma.
- June 7 Ground breaking ceremonies for Centennial Building, Iowa City.
- June 9 Received honorary doctor of laws degree from Iowa Wesleyan College, Mount Pleasant.
- June 21-22, Conducted boat trips aboard the *Addie May* and promoted
July 12-13 tours of Keokuk and Nauvoo for Society members.

Iowa Historical Activities

A log cabin, believed to be the oldest in Iowa, was marked with a bronze plaque by the Daughters of the American Revolution in April, 1958. Now restored and located in Eagle Point Park at Dubuque, the cabin was originally built about 1827 by a French trapper on the site of what is now Second and Locust streets in Dubuque. In 1915 it was moved to the park, restored, and is now used as a park shelter.

At the annual meeting of the Osceola County Historical Society on May 19, 1958, Mrs. Stella Fox was re-elected president; Mrs. Nora Geroncin was elected vice-president; and Mrs. Agnes Sokol, secretary and treasurer.

An Adams County Historical Society has been organized and officers elected: Mrs. Harry Sickler, president; Kenneth Roland, vice-president; Mrs. A. M. Dunham, secretary; and Don Williams, treasurer. The first project of the new society will be the preservation of a one-room school-house. The Society has been given the former Icarian rural school by the board of directors of Prescott No. 8 district. The building may be moved to Corning for restoration.

The Historical Society of Marshall County plans to renovate the Susie Sower home at Marshalltown for use as a museum. Brice W. Springer, president of the Society, says they have plenty of historical articles to fill the house, but are in need of funds to carry on the program.

The Black Hawk County Early Settlers Association, an eighty-four-year-old organization, has voted to disband. H. L. Green, president of the Association, has been instructed by the members to turn over their records to the Grout Historical Museum.

Efforts are being made to re-activate the Webster County Historical Society. A membership drive has been opened, with letters going to some 1,000 residents of the county. Membership is \$1.00 per year for an individual, or \$2.00 per year for a family. The Society's museum, with Mrs. John Amond acting as curator, is in the basement of the Fort Dodge Public Library. Ed Breen is chairman of a committee to expand the museum.

The Wayne County Historical Society has published a replica of the 1897 plat book of the county and is presenting it to each member who renews his membership in the Society.

The Cedar County Historical Society will distribute the first county historical booklet, entitled "The Cedar County Historical Review," to members at the picnic meeting in August. Plans are to issue a booklet each year, containing new material on Cedar County history. The booklet is free to members, and sells at \$1.00 a copy to non-members.

The first annual meeting of the Butler County Historical Society was held on May 9 at Allison. Officers re-elected were: Mrs. Louise Riggert, president; Ray Tindall, vice-president; Mrs. Gomer Evans, secretary; Charles Yost, treasurer; and Hugh L. Moser, curator. A committee has been appointed to purchase a county schoolhouse to be moved to Allison and used as an historical building.

Roy L. Shaffer was re-elected president of the Tama County Historical Society at the annual meeting on April 5, 1958. Other officers elected were W. H. Hufford, vice-president; and H. P. Giger, secretary-treasurer.

The Dubuque County Historical Society and the Galena Historical Society of Illinois cooperated in a boat tour of the Mississippi River on June 26.

The McGregor Historical Society entered a float in the Villa Louis parade on June 1 at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The float was a buggy made in about 1880 by the Pearsall carriage factory in McGregor. At a recent meeting the officers of the Society were re-elected: Mrs. W. A. Myers,

president; Mary Elwell, vice-president; and Dorothy Huebsch, secretary and treasurer.

The silver service of the battleship *Iowa* has been deposited in the Iowa State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines. The service was purchased by Iowans in 1897 for the original *U. S. S. Iowa*.

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CONTENTS

Dennis Mahony and the Dubuque <i>Herald</i> , 1860-1863	Hubert H. Wubben	289
Document: Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866 — Part III	Edited by Mildred Throne	321
Historical Activities		365
Index		369

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COVER

"Charge of Third Brigade, First Division, Sixteenth Corps, at the Battle of Nashville, December 15, 1864 — Sketched by George H. Ellsbury." From *Harper's Weekly*, January 14, 1865.

DENNIS MAHONY AND THE DUBUQUE *HERALD*, 1860-1863

By Hubert H. Wubben*

In the annals of American journalism there is probably no more colorful yet bitter story than the fight of the popularly designated "Copperhead" or "Peace" press against the administration of Abraham Lincoln during this nation's Civil War. Foremost among the Copperhead organs in Iowa was the nationally famous Dubuque *Herald*. Throughout the war years, under a succession of militantly Democratic editors, the *Herald* adhered to an uncompromising course of opposition to the new Republican party and everything for which it stood. Fierce and unyielding in opposition to what it claimed was an unholy alliance of Eastern capital with abolition fanaticism in an unconstitutional war, this paper was representative of many Western Peace¹ organs which spoke for a sizable minority opinion in the nation.

Foremost among Democratic editors was Dennis Mahony, one of the truly controversial figures of Iowa's mid-nineteenth century history. Born in Ireland, reared in Philadelphia, and migrant to Iowa in 1843, Mahony had, by the year 1860, established himself as a leading citizen of Dubuque and as a politically prominent figure in his adopted state. As schoolteacher, newspaper editor, county official, state legislator, active Catholic layman, and Democratic politician, he had behind him nearly seventeen years of activity which had kept him in the public eye. Over five of these years, up to and including 1855, he had spent as editor and part owner of the *Herald*. In 1860 he was chairman of the state Democratic executive committee.

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¹ The term Peace Democrat is used rather than Copperhead through this article to designate the anti-war forces of the period. The term Copperhead has too often been taken to mean "disloyal" or "traitorous," especially with reference to the Civil War. The Peace Democrats were a large minority of the northern populace throughout most of the period and they steadfastly maintained that the Republicans, President Lincoln, and the advocates of the war were the real "traitors" to the Constitution and the Union. Besides, the demand for immediate peace was the one point about which all the diverse groups which made up the so-called Copperheads could unite.

During the Civil War, Mahony became one of the most famous exponents of the Peace Democrat position in the Midwest, and in the entire North as well.²

Mahony's Dubuque, the oldest and largest city in Iowa in 1860, was a natural repository of Peace Democrat sentiment. Frank Klement and Henry Hubbart have maintained that in the West ethnic, economic, and geographic as well as political factors were of prime importance in the shaping of Peace Democrat thought.³ These factors were: Irish and German Catholic suspicion of former Know-Nothing elements which drifted into the Republican party; Western resentment toward New England Puritanism and its growing economic hold on the West; sentimental attachment among all those who lived in the Mississippi Valley; attachment to the dwindling remains of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy; and the Southern antecedents of many Westerners. All of these factors were present to some degree in the young state of Iowa in 1860 and particularly in the city and county of Dubuque.

Early in 1860 Mahony apparently was not thinking of returning to the newspaper business. He wrote Charles Mason, prominent Iowa jurist and Democrat, then practicing patent law in Washington, D. C., that he was interested in securing an appointment as a consul to a foreign country or a post in the territories. If President Buchanan knew of his record with the Democratic party, Mahony confided, he would have a good chance to obtain an appointment.⁴

On May 6, 1860, however, a notice appeared in the *Herald* stating that Dennis Mahony had bought the paper and was now owner and editor. One odd note crept into the transaction. Retiring owner and editor, J. B. Dorr,

² One of the better summaries of the life of Dennis Mahony up to 1860 is to be found in a bachelor's thesis submitted to Loras College in 1948 by Roger Sullivan entitled "Mahony the Unterrified." See pp. 3-6. See also the Mahony obituaries appearing in the Dubuque *Herald*, Nov. 9, 1879, and Dubuque *Times*, Nov. 6, 1879, and a biographical sketch, Dubuque *Telegraph-Herald*, Aug. 27, 1911. See also Mildred Throne (ed.), "Mahony-Smith Letters on the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad, 1857," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 54:335-6 (October, 1956); and *Mortgage Register and Register Index* (1852-1870), Dubuque County, Iowa.

³ Henry C. Hubbart, "Pro-Southern Influences in the Free West, 1840-1865," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 20:45-62 (June, 1933), and Frank Klement, "Midwest Copperheadism and the Genesis of the Granger Movement," *ibid.*, 36:679 (March, 1952).

⁴ Dennis Mahony to Charles Mason, Feb. 9, 1860, *Charles Mason Correspondence* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

also a prominent Democratic figure, appended a sentence to the story of the sale informing readers that he, Dorr, would retain control of the "political department" until after the election. Under this arrangement, Mahony owned and edited a paper over which he theoretically had no editorial voice, in a day when personal, partisan journalism was yet the rule in the West. The results seemingly were inevitable.

On July 3 the *Herald* carried an editorial entitled "Appeal to the Democracy of Iowa" which was signed "D. A. Mahony, chairman, State Democratic Executive Committee." The editorial called upon the Democrats to avoid a split on the question of the right of a territory to abolish or approve slavery. There should be room for differences of opinion, said Mahony. He believed that territorial governments were creatures of the federal government and that they held only those powers given them by the government. Dorr inserted an answering notice three days later, July 6. Mahony's appeal of the third, Dorr emphasized, expressed Mahony's view, not necessarily that of the paper. For several issues thereafter Dorr signed all major editorials in the paper with his initials.

One cannot be sure that Dorr wrote all editorials for the rest of the period through November 6, election day, but there is no mistaking the fact that, starting with November 7, the *Herald* was a Mahony organ and that Mahony viewed the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency as catastrophic for the future of the United States. He wrote:

It is useless for any man to flatter himself or persuade others that the Confederacy did not receive a violent, if not fatal shock. . . . However, the election of Lincoln may be of service to the body politic, which like the human body becomes occasionally disordered, and is restored to health and vigor by nauseating medicines.⁵

Four days after the election, one of the most significant of all Mahony's editorials during the war appeared. In it he expressed compactly and clearly what was to be his philosophy on three points at issue: the legality of secession; the cause of secession movements; and what should be expected of the South. Secession, he asserted, was not provided for in the Constitution. Therefore, it was illegal. "But," he added carefully, "when the government fails in its duties of protecting people and their property and securing happiness and prosperity which it is bound to do, the people

⁵ Dubuque *Herald*, Nov. 8, 1860 (hereafter cited as *Herald*).

have the right to modify or abolish it." In point two he laid the blame for secessionist movements upon Northern abolitionists. Point three was that Southerners should not submit to "aggression upon their domestic institutions. . . . The South will not do it. The South ought not to do it."⁶

In the succeeding months and years, Mahony was to remind his opponents more than once that his original stand against secession was unchanged. The same was true on the question of the extension of slavery, on which he also clarified his stand early. In mid-December he answered a demand of Dubuque's Republican organ, the *Times*, on this matter. He would not vote for retention of slavery or its extension, he said, were he eligible to decide. But this was a question for the people in the affected areas only.⁷

The conflict at hand could be avoided, Mahony had declared earlier in the month, if the North would concede four rights to the South. They were: the right of the South to regulate its own domestic affairs; adherence to the fugitive slave law; the right of Southerners on tours of business or pleasure to take their slaves to the North and there hold the same relationship as in the South; and freedom from interference with slavery in the territories.⁸

Mahony felt that the *Herald*, since his assumption of complete control, was now an organ which expressed "true Democratic" sentiment. He was glad, he wrote to Charles Mason, to have Mason and "the rest" of the Iowa Democrats recognize the *Herald* as an "orthodox Democratic paper." Despite the editor's satisfaction with his own publication's stand, he expressed unhappiness at the "demoralized" state of the Iowa Democrats. In late December he wrote to Mason that his suggestion that the party meet in a state convention "to take into consideration the State of the Union" met with favor but no action. "Let us do what we can, you in your influential position and I in my humble sphere to avert the calamities which threaten us."⁹

As January 1, 1861, came and went, with still no move having been made by Iowa Democrats, Mahony took matters into his own hands. In the *Herald* he published a call for a state convention to be held at Iowa

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1860.

⁷ Dubuque *Times*, Dec. 14, 1860 (hereafter cited as *Times*); *Herald*, Dec. 15, 1860.

⁸ *Herald*, Dec. 9, 1860.

⁹ Mahony to Mason, Nov. 13, Dec. 27, 1860, *Mason Correspondence*.

City on February 22. Signing himself "D. A. Mahony, member of the State Democratic Committee for the Ninth Judicial District," he declared the purpose to be "to take counsel for the preservation of the Union and for the prevention of a bloody conflict between the North and South."¹⁰ Reaction to the call was disappointing, however, and the convention was not held.

At this point Mahony began to lash back at critics of the *Herald's* course, especially the local opposition paper, the *Times*, which increasingly represented him to its readers as a secessionist and a disloyalist. Taking what was to be a recurrent theme in the *Herald's* columns during the rest of the war, Mahony charged the *Times* with being an "abolition traitor." Abolition traitors were those who would pervert the Constitution by denying to the South long standing rights guaranteed under that Constitution. At the *Times* he thundered:

Abolition traitor; how durst thou talk of loyalty, thou who has arrayed thyself in eternal enmity to thy political equals and to thy superiors in every noble attribute of manhood; thou who has sworn in thy fanatical heart to satiate its craving for blood and lust and rapine among the victims of thy treachery. . . .

"Loyal inhabitants of the North." Who are they? Traitor to the Constitution and the Union, but those who acknowledge that the Constitution recognize the rights of the South as well as of the North. The "Loyalty" of the *Times* extends no farther South than Mason and Dixon's line. It is that sort of "loyalty" which compelled Southern men to seek for such means of protection from Northern fanaticism, as might best resist a threatened and avowed aggression.

Pity indeed, that we have not taken the part of the "loyal" aggressors of the North; that we have not bid them God speed in their attacks upon the Constitution; that we have not encouraged their abolition raids upon the South.¹¹

It was ever Mahony's contention that one who read his paper could readily see that the true object of its editorials was "Union under the Constitution."

As the pre-Sumter tension grew, Mahony labored on two themes: there should be no Northern coercion of the seceding states; and, compromise measures to preserve the Union *must* be tried. When Sumter was finally

¹⁰ *Herald*, Jan. 13, 1861.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1861. See *Times*, Jan. 25-Feb. 1, 1861.

attacked, Mahony recognized that the South had rebelled but steadfastly maintained that the rebels had been "goaded" to action by the North.¹²

The Southern attack on Sumter marked the time of critical decision for the Democratic newspapers of the North. Prior to this overt act, many favored disunion or all-out efforts at compromise. Very few of them were ready to accept the Republican position that the rebellion must be stopped by force if necessary. After the military action at Sumter, Democratic papers gradually separated into two camps. "War" papers generally supported war measures and condemned the South as the aggressor, while "Peace" papers said the federal government was the aggressor and that the war was unnecessary and unprovoked. The only point at which the two groups could agree was that the Republicans were the wrong ones to be in power at such a crucial time.¹³

The Democratic dilemma was noted by Mahony's bitter rival, Jesse Clement, editor of the *Times*. Might not the Democrats just as well support Lincoln and the Republican party if they were truly sincere about suppressing the Rebellion, he asked. After all, was not the Republican party the only party which was solidly united on that question?¹⁴

In Dubuque, Mahony and the *Herald* were facing highly vocal opposition. From a local pulpit came an exhortation to hang the editor. The *Herald* accused the *Times* of trying to ignite a mob spirit to destroy the paper. Anonymous letters appeared in the *Times* in May, castigating Mahony. "He should remove or be removed to some locality to preach his treason. Forbearance may cease to be a virtue in his case," asserted one. Two months later, in July, the same organ published a letter, signed "Patriot," which suggested the calling of a mass meeting at which citizens should decide what to do about the *Herald*.¹⁵ The next day an "impromptu" mass meeting did take place in Dubuque's Washington Square at

¹² *Herald*, Apr. 13, 1861. The editor, despite his intense feeling against "coercion" of the South, seemed to catch in some degree that war fervor which spread over the North during the last half of April, 1861. Two weeks after the Sumter incident he noted with evident pride that in a town of 15,000 already 200 volunteers for newly forming Northern regiments had left and another 100 were waiting to go. *Ibid.*, Apr. 26, 1861.

¹³ Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York, 1942), 40-41; Joe Skidmore, "The Copperhead Press and the Civil War," *Journalism Quarterly*, 16:347-8 (December, 1939).

¹⁴ *Times*, Aug. 15, 1861.

¹⁵ *Herald*, Apr. 17, 1861; *Times*, May 10, July 12, 1861.

which "local agitators harangued" Mahony and the *Herald*. Following their appeals, the crowd rushed to Fifth and Main, site of the newspaper office, but there local and county lawmen and a company of soldiers en route south kept matters under control, and the *Herald* was not mobbed that day — or any other day during the war.¹⁶

In June of 1861 the Dubuque editor made another attempt to unite the Democrats of Iowa behind an anti-administration program. Signing himself as "chairman Pro-Tem of the State Executive Committee," Mahony issued a call for a party convention for July 10 in Des Moines to take such measures as might be necessary "to preserve the Union in its integrity and the rights of the people from subjection to arbitrary power." In a bill of particulars he accused President Lincoln of usurping power which belonged to Congress, including: illegally blockading Southern ports; making war without a proper declaration; suspending the writ of habeas corpus; and drawing money from the Treasury without the consent of Congress. The call met with some opposition through the state, including that of J. B. Dorr, who was becoming a leading Iowa War Democrat.¹⁷

This time, however, Dennis Mahony was more successful than in his earlier attempt to convene the Iowa Democrats. After the convention date had been set forward to July 24, delegates assembled in Des Moines under the chairmanship of Mahony. There they passed resolutions denouncing the war as "an effort to dismember the Union," secession, "usurpation" of powers by the President, paper banking, and the doctrine of "irrepressible conflict."¹⁸ The resolutions at the state conclave were similar to those drawn up at the Dubuque County Democratic convention of July 13. Mahony had served as chairman of that convention, likewise.

Not only did the state convention delegates draw up anti-administration resolutions, but they also nominated candidates for state offices to run in the coming fall elections. The delegates chose Charles Mason to be the party's candidate for Governor and Maturin L. Fisher for Lieutenant Governor.

At least one Republican looked upon Mahony's move, however, as one which might work to Republican advantage. "The 'Mahony ticket' will not

¹⁶ *Herald*, July 31, 1861.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1861; Franklin T. Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, [1911]), 353.

¹⁸ *Herald*, July 24-26, 1861.

get 20 votes, if any, if there is a Douglas Democratic ticket, in Clayton County," wrote Eliphalet Price to Republican Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood.¹⁹

War Democrats in Dubuque, under Dorr, decided to fight the Mahony platform. They met in county convention to select delegates to a state "Union Democratic" convention and drew up, also, indictments of Peace papers and of Mahony for "usurping" his authority.²⁰ The Union Democratic Convention for the state of Iowa met August 29. In what may have been something of a surprise, the War faction found itself outnumbered. Delegates formally approved almost intact the resolutions of the "Mahony Convention" and accepted Mason as their candidate for Governor. William H. Merritt was chosen in place of Fisher as candidate for Lieutenant Governor in the only significant change. The *Herald*, not unreasonably feeling pleased with the "ratifying convention," nevertheless disclaimed the assertion of the admiring *McGregor Times* that the Union convention came through with a "Mahony ticket and Mahony resolutions."²¹

At this point the success of Mahony and the *Herald* in directing the Iowa Democrats seemed to be nearly complete. But complications arose quickly, and with them much of the surface party unity began to disintegrate. The Burlington *Hawk-Eye* launched into a series of attacks on Mason, who was from Burlington. A letter to the editor from a Des Moines County Democrat, William F. Coolbaugh, appeared in the *Hawk-Eye*, attacking the Democratic nominee for being "pro-Southern, pro-secesh, and pro-slavery." Mason vehemently denied these charges in a return letter the next day.²²

The attacks on Mason in the *Hawk-Eye* continued. And, apparently, rumors began to circulate among the party faithful that the nominee might resign. Mahony and Ben Samuels, a Dubuque Democratic stalwart, wrote to Mason on September 19, urging him to stay in the race. But Mason withdrew the next day in a brief note to G. M. Todd, chairman of the party's central committee, giving no explanation for his action except to

¹⁹ Eliphalet Price to Samuel J. Kirkwood, Aug. 14, 1861, *Samuel J. Kirkwood Correspondence* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines).

²⁰ Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County*, 353. The *Herald* paid little attention to these "shoddies" as War Democrats were called by the Peace faction in Dubuque. Mahony did take time, though, to attack Dorr when the latter maintained that Mahony had no right to call a state convention. *Herald*, June 14, 1861.

²¹ *McGregor Times*, cited in *Herald*, Sept. 4, 1861.

²² Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Sept. 3-4, 1861.

say that "Circumstances have induced me to withdraw." Merritt, whom Mahony suspected to being a War Democrat, was promptly offered the Union Democratic nomination, which he accepted. "We feel that the Democratic party has been betrayed," declared the *Herald*, at the same time avowing its intention to support no candidate who would not stand on the party platform.²³

Mahony's editorial of October 1 mirrored the intense disappointment of the Peace faction.

We would have preferred to go into the contest in Principle, no matter what might be the result, than to make it a purely personal contest. . . . In this predicament we shall choose our own course and others will, of course, do likewise. We have no advice to give through the *Herald* on this subject.²⁴

True to its word, the *Herald* said next to nothing during the remainder of the campaign. Merritt was defeated easily by the Republican incumbent, Samuel J. Kirkwood, 60,303 to 43,245.

Attempts to move the Iowa Democrats into the anti-war camp did not occupy all of Mahony's time between the firing on Sumter and the October elections. In July he was especially critical of Lincoln, charging him with violating the Constitution without apology or excuse "beyond the flimsy pretext of its being necessary for the preservation of the government." On another occasion he accused the President of fostering a despotism "more onerous and more cruel than that of Czar Alexander or the Emperor Francis Joseph." A plaintive note crept into this comparison when Mahony observed that what was even worse was that the people approved of Lincoln's "despotic acts."²⁵ Such sentiments, openly expressed, began to attract regional attention. In September, 1861, the *Herald* was interdicted in St. Louis by military order, the first of several such actions against the paper during the war.

Two acts of President Lincoln met with the *Herald's* approval in the latter part of the year: the removal of General John C. Fremont from his

²³ Ben Samuels and Mahony to Mason, Sept. 19, 24, 1861, *Mason Correspondence; Herald*, Sept. 24, 1861; the Sept. 24 letter to Mason expressed more than the *Herald* on this date. They, Samuels and Mahony, would not endorse Merritt at all, they told Mason.

²⁴ *Herald*, Oct. 1, 1861.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, July 9, 21, 1861.

Missouri command, and the President's suppression of Secretary of War Simon Cameron's report which advocated arming the slaves.²⁶ Both times in nearly identical language Mahony declared that Lincoln had taken the "constitutional course."

At the close of the year 1861, Mahony's Irish background crept into his editorial comment on the removal of the Confederate emissaries to England, James Mason and John Slidell, from the British vessel, the *Trent*, by an American warship. The action had some interesting points which would have to be determined by international law, he believed, but Britain was getting back what she had given out for so long. Then, in January of 1862, Mahony concluded that the arrest was illegal, at the same time maintaining that to back down was an act of national cowardice. City rival *Times* professed amusement over the attitude of the *Herald* and of the *Davenport Democrat and News* on the release of Slidell and Mason. The *Davenport* paper also claimed the United States had been humiliated. "It is never humiliating or disgraceful to do right," said the *Times*, quoting the *Chicago Journal* approvingly.²⁷

Davenport newspapers were often targets of the *Herald*. In answer to a charge by the Republican *Gazette* that the *Herald* had too much Iowa influence, Mahony retorted that if this were so, it was only because the *Herald* was upholding personal rights and constitutional government. Taking the offensive against the *Democrat and News*, Mahony charged that organ with not being Democratic enough.²⁸

A new editor, G. T. Stewart, took over the *Times* on January 1, 1862, a change which did nothing to lessen the number or the feeling of the charges flying back and forth between the rival papers. Generally the *Times* was the aggressor, charging "treason" on numerous occasions. Usually the *Herald* replied. However, Mahony covered many more fields than that of intra-city journalistic warfare. He became engaged in promoting Democratic unity in Dubuque in preparation for the coming city elections. In March the *Herald* encouraged neighborhood attendance at small-scale Democratic meetings throughout the city. At many of these the participants drew up resolutions which decried "abolition treason," the disregard

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, Dec. 10, 1861.

²⁷ For *Herald* opinion on this incident, see issues of Nov. 21, 1861; Jan. 1, 4, 1862. See also *Times*, Jan. 1, 1862.

²⁸ *Herald*, Jan. 26, 28, 1862.

of the writ of habeas corpus, and wartime financial policy.²⁹ Mahony was chairman of the Democratic city convention held on March 24, which passed similar resolutions. The *Times*, noting this flurry of opposition directed by its bitter rival, declared fervently, "Treacherous enemy of our Government, there is a day of retribution in store for you." The city convention was labeled the "Mahony Democratic City Convention" by the new editor, but neither threats nor name calling were able to halt Dubuque's traditional Democratic outpouring at the polls, and the *Herald* was able to boast of a clean sweep by Democrats of all city offices.³⁰

Outside Dubuque, the Democratic monopoly was sourly regarded by the Republicans. After the results were determined, one Republican journal charged that "men swarmed the streets cheering for Jeff Davis, the Southern Confederacy, Beauregard and the Merrimac. . . . Dubuque is an example of what Vallandigham, Mahony, George W. Jones and that class of sympathizers with treason would make of the Democracy and the people of the entire state." The Cedar Falls *Gazette* carried the report of one observer of the elections in Dubuque who professed amazement at the "secessionist atmosphere" of the city. The *Herald*, as if to counteract the barrage of criticism, carried an approving note from the Fort Madison *Plain Dealer* which testified to its support for Mahony's stand and his loyalty. Pushing the matter further, the *Times* warned its readers that Dubuque's reputation as a "secession hole" might be catching up with it. Rumor had it, said Stewart, that the proposed railroad to the Pacific was "not going to be located in any manner which would enable the tributaries of Dubuque to hook up to it."³¹

Mahony frequently reprinted attacks from Republican papers in order to refute them. When the Muscatine *Journal* maintained that Dubuque was morally and politically dark because the owners of the *Herald* were not hanged and the paper burned, Mahony retorted that this showed Dubuque's devotion to the Constitution. When the Independence *Guardian* charged that the city was opposed to the government, he vigorously denied it.³²

Religious bias cropped up in at least one opposition journal during this

²⁹ Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County*, 355.

³⁰ *Times*, Mar. 21, 1862; *Herald*, Apr. 8, 1862.

³¹ Keokuk *Gate City*, Apr. 12, 1862; Cedar Falls *Gazette*, cited in *Times*, Apr. 16, 1862; Fort Madison *Plain Dealer*, cited in *Herald*, Apr. 26, 1862; *Times*, May 8, 1862.

³² *Herald*, June 8, 1862.

period, probably with reference to Dubuque. Catholic politicians and press and Catholic Irish were "fiercely supporting slavery," charged the Keokuk *Gate City*. Yes, this was true, Mahony conceded, but it was "because they were not in favor of breaking up the Union to get rid of it."³³

The first half of 1862 found the paper attacking Eastern financiers for flooding the Northwest with "irresponsible currency." Mahony proposed, in a measure aimed directly at this group, that the government levy a tax on bank notes rather than on such consumer items as coffee and sugar. Let those who profited from the war pay for it, he declared.³⁴

Through most of the period to the middle of August, 1862, one can look in vain in the columns of the *Herald* for any advocacy of overt action against the elected authorities. But early in May, Mahony wrote one statement which might be construed as an insurrectionary call. "If Executive and Legislative decrees are used to subvert the Constitution," he wrote, "the people have the right to resist such subversion and to uphold the Constitution."³⁵

Herald news and editorial coverage on recruitment of volunteers for the Union army and on the impending draft was heavy in the summer of 1862. The paper approved the draft if it were to be operated in a "fair" manner. And Mahony counseled Dubuque citizens who might be inspired to move out because of it to stay and "meet it like men." On one occasion Mahony gave a special boost to one recruiting officer who was a combat veteran. He was not above urging local Republicans to volunteer their services either. This latter admonition, repeated more than once, may have been a factor in subsequent events in the story of the *Herald* and its editor. That his comments in this vein were not taken kindly by his opponents was noted by Mahony on August 6, when he charged that they had sent a petition to Washington demanding suppression of the paper and arrest of himself.³⁶

Finally action followed the threats, and in the early morning hours of

³³ Keokuk *Gate City*, May 21, 1862; *Herald*, May 24, 1862.

³⁴ *Herald*, Mar. 27, May 31, 1862.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1862.

³⁶ One must cover many issues to get a clear picture of this entire problem of recruiting, the draft and Mahony and the *Herald's* views on both during this period. See *Herald*, July 31, Aug. 5-6, 1862, for above material. Nearly all issues of the *Times* and *Herald* from July 30, 1862, to Aug. 13, 1862, contain much on these matters. See specifically *Times*, May 7, 1862; *Herald*, May 24, July 30, Aug. 2, 3, 8, 10, 13, 1862.

August 14, 1862, Dennis Mahony was awakened from a sound sleep and arrested at his home by the United States Marshal for Iowa, Herbert M. Hoxie, Deputy Marshal for Dubuque, P. H. Conger, and a squad of federal troops under the command of a Captain Pierce. Although no charges were ever filed against Mahony, the assumed reason was for "discouraging enlistments."³⁷ The authority at this time, under which such arrests were usually made, was an order of August 8, 1862, of Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to United States lawmen, directing that those individuals "seeking to discourage volunteering, giving aid and comfort to the enemy, or, through writing, speech, or act, engaging in any disloyal practice" be arrested and held for trial before a military commission.³⁸

Put on board the steamboat *Bill Henderson*, Mahony quickly wrote a statement for publication in the *Herald* of that day:

Fellow citizens of Iowa, — I have been arrested by an arbitrary and illegal order from the War Department for my fidelity to the Constitution of our common country. As I am at the disposal of tyrants who care for no law but that of their own will, I know not what might befall me. To your care and protection I commend my wife and children. D. A. Mahony.³⁹

Later in the day the steamer sailed down the river for Davenport. From Davenport the next day Mahony addressed a letter to Governor Kirkwood, requesting an interview and asserting that he did not know the reason for his arrest but that it must be "on some trumped up charge of disloyalty." Kirkwood, who was then in Iowa City, replied immediately by evening train in what Mahony described as a "cold, formal, and, in some respects, an insulting letter, assuming that I was disloyal to the government." Mahony immediately dispatched another letter to Kirkwood. In it he said, "I have never had the design or intention of embarrassing the government in

³⁷ Dennis Mahony, *Prisoner of State* (New York, 1863), 117-20. Mahony's own account of his arrest and incarceration differs little in substance from other published records of the same event. The incident is described at length in another volume which is devoted to recitals of this and similar cases of arbitrary arrest occurring during the Civil War. See John Marshall, *American Bastille* . . . (New York, 1869), 407-421. Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921), 302, states incorrectly that Mahony was arrested after the Democratic convention of 1863. See also Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 28.

³⁸ *War of the Rebellion* . . . *Official Records* . . . (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series III, Vol. II, 321-2. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)

³⁹ *Herald*, Aug. 14, 1862; Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, 122.

any way. I have presumed that it was committing errors, and surely it is not a crime to say that if one believes it earnestly.”⁴⁰

From Davenport, Marshal Hoxie took Mahony to Burlington, where he was soon joined by another editor, David Sheward of the *Fairfield Constitution and Union*, who had been arrested on the same charge. Republican newspapers in Davenport, Burlington, and throughout Iowa generally expressed great satisfaction over Mahony's arrest, repeating accusations that the Dubuque editor had been in open sympathy with the secessionists since the start of the war.⁴¹

In both river cities Mahony received visits from numerous friends and acquaintances. To several others throughout the state he sent requests that they contact the Secretary of War in order to speed an investigation of the charges against him. In his own book on his arrest and imprisonment, Mahony noted with bitterness that the only one who ever wrote in his behalf was a political opponent, Iowa's Republican Senator James W. Grimes.⁴²

Within a week Mahony and Sheward were taken to Washington, D. C., and lodged in Old Capitol Prison with other political prisoners. Meanwhile, in Dubuque, Stilson Hutchins, Mahony's assistant editor, assumed the reins of the *Herald*. The day after the arrest Hutchins wrote, "The principles which the *Herald* enunciated and supported we do not shrink from now." However, added Hutchins,

There is no possibility of the suppression of the paper, we have that assurance from the proper authorities, but our readers will pardon us if from time to time we content ourself with truthfully presenting the current news with such extractions as we see proper to make, leaving editorial comment as to be indulged in at some future time when it ceases to involve so much interest to ourselves and our subscribers.⁴³

To a large extent, Hutchins followed this policy for nearly a month, except

⁴⁰ Mahony to Kirkwood, Aug. 15, 1862 (2 letters), *Kirkwood Correspondence*; Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, 129.

⁴¹ Charles J. Fulton, *History of Jefferson County, Iowa . . .* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914), 1:355; *Davenport Gazette*, Aug. 15, 1862; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Aug. 18, 1862.

⁴² Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, 124, 140. Grimes had been one of those who visited Mahony while he was detained at Burlington.

⁴³ *Herald*, Aug. 15, 1862.

for one important matter. He worked heartily for the election of Dennis Mahony to Congress as a Representative from the newly created Third Congressional District.

The nomination of Mahony had been regarded as a distinct possibility by the editor himself. A month and a half prior to his arrest he had written to Charles Mason that he could get the nomination if he wanted it. And, as if in preparation for a possible contest, he had requested assistance from Mason. "Would it be too much trouble," he wrote, "for you to see Ben Wood, Vallandigham and such others of your friends as you may have opportunity to do and request of them to lend me documents and speeches?"⁴⁴

In view of the impending congressional election, it is very likely that the arrest of Mahony at this particular time had political undertones. William B. Allison of Dubuque, the Republican nominee for Congress, and H. M. Hoxie, the arresting officer, were friends of long standing and active in the Republican party. Franc B. Wilke, the "war correspondent" of the *Herald*, stated flatly in his reminiscences of Civil War days that Mahony was not arrested for treasonable activities "but in reality to prevent his election to Congress." But the effort to remove Mahony from the political scene failed. After the arrest, Hutchins noted in the *Herald* that the incident had excited a Mahony-for-Congress boom. At Delhi a Delaware County Democratic convention demanded that Mahony be given a quick trial if he had committed a crime. If there were no crime, he should be released at once.⁴⁵

At the Third District convention at West Union, exactly six days after his arrest, Mahony was nominated to oppose Allison. That there was opposition to this action was indicated by the narrow margin of victory Mahony attained over opponent G. W. Gray of Allamakee County. Mahony secured 52 2/3 votes to 51 1/3 for Gray. Results of arbitrary arrests, one historian has said, were bitter resentment of the citizens in the area in which the arrests occurred, even among supporters of the war. Citizens of Dubuque generally agreed that Mahony's nomination resulted from the desire of the Peace Democrats to show that they approved Mahony's course.⁴⁶

Mahony learned of his nomination in prison on August 25, despite what

⁴⁴ Mahony to Mason, June 24, 1862, *Mason Correspondence*.

⁴⁵ *Herald*, Aug. 15, 20, 1862; Leland Sage, *William Boyd Allison* . . . (Iowa City, 1956), 54; Franc B. Wilkie, *Pen and Powder* (Boston, 1888), 9.

⁴⁶ Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 97; Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County*, 357.

he believed to be an effort on the part of prison officials to keep the news from him. On the same day he wrote his acceptance of the nomination. Appended to the acceptance was a long recital of his views which, when printed in the *Herald*, filled more than three columns of small type. The major points were:

1. Secession was unconstitutional but revolution was an inherent right.
2. Opposition to the acts of the President did not constitute disloyalty.
3. The war he opposed except as a means to early restoration of the Union.
4. In case of conflict between the government and the Constitution he would support the Constitution.
5. The Union was a Union of equal states. [This point he developed but little. Instead, he launched into an attack on the "evils" of abolition which would result in the flooding of the free states with "pauper" Negroes.]
6. The separation of powers should remain inviolate.
7. Strong government was acceptable if it were the "rule of the people legitimately manifested."
8. The administration was in rebellion to the Constitution.
9. The Union could never be restored so long as the "Abolitionist Republicans" were in power.
10. Emancipation would result in great social evils and the degrading of the white race.⁴⁷

Hutchins at the helm of the *Herald* gave publicity to both sides of the story of his chief's nomination. Comment in Chicago dailies was adverse, he noted. The *Chicago Times*, leading anti-war publication in that city, carried a communication from one dissatisfied Democrat in McGregor which called the nomination an act of hostility to the law of the land. Hutchins replied that the Democrats nominated Mahony as "the exponent of a principle." The *Chicago Journal*, a Republican paper, also opposed the Mahony nomination, adding parenthetically that the *Herald* was as bad as when Mahony was editor and recommending that the Dubuque organ

⁴⁷ Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, 169-70; *Herald*, Oct. 7, 1862. No reason was ever given by Hutchins for delay in printing the acceptance. This may have been a consequence of his earlier expressed decision to refrain from editorial comment for awhile after Mahony's arrest.

should be suppressed.⁴⁸ News of support for Mahony appeared in the *Herald* frequently also. Linn, Cedar, and Jones County Democrats, meeting in a tri-county convention at Mount Vernon in late August, drew up a resolution decrying the arrest of Mahony and hailing his nomination. Dubuque County's Democratic convention did likewise. On October 14, Hutchins printed an article from the *Milwaukee News* voicing support for Mahony.

Before Mahony's arrest, the *Herald* had noted the nomination of Allison by the Republicans. Said Mahony then, "As a neighbor and fellow citizen we respect Mr. Allison, but as a politician we look upon him as one of those who have brought our country to its perilous condition." Allison would also be the easiest candidate for the Democrats to beat, Mahony had declared, without giving his reasons.⁴⁹

The election campaign found the full force of the Republicans directed against the Democrats in general and Mahony in particular. Senator Grimes was one of those who used his vote getting powers in behalf of the Republican candidate. Grimes wrote Salmon P. Chase, "I traversed the state for four weeks, speaking every day, and the more radical I was, the more acceptable I was."⁵⁰

In the election Allison defeated Mahony, 11,932 to 8,452, despite the fact that the *Herald* editor carried Dubuque County by 1,457 votes.⁵¹ Allison may have been helped by the fact that congressional redistricting took place in Iowa that year, when Congress, on the basis of the Census of 1860, granted Iowa the right to send six Representatives to Washington instead of two. "The population of several districts was made almost exactly proportionate to the strength of the Democratic opposition in those districts," says one writer on the redistricting. Thus, although Democrats cast over three-sevenths of the state vote, each district chose a Republican representative.⁵² This factor may not have been too important in Hutchins' opinion, however, since he never mentioned it in the *Herald*.

⁴⁸ *Chicago Times*, Aug. 26, 1862, and *Chicago Journal*, Aug. 26, 1862, cited in *Herald*, Aug. 28, 1862.

⁴⁹ Sage, *Allison*, 52-4; *Herald*, Aug. 8, 1862.

⁵⁰ James W. Grimes to Salmon P. Chase, Oct. 20, 1862, quoted in William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes* (New York, 1876), 218.

⁵¹ *History of Dubuque County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1880), 598; *Herald*, Nov. 2, 1862.

⁵² Paul S. Peirce, "Congressional Districting in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 1:341-3 (July, 1903).

The soldier vote was apparently more significant in the defeat of Mahony than congressional redistricting. Allison polled 2,248 of these ballots to 125 for Mahony. A letter from Colonel Cyrus Bussey to Governor Kirkwood gives a hint as to how this margin was achieved. Bussey, from his regimental headquarters in Helena, Arkansas, noted that Democratic candidates received only a small vote in his organization, even though most of them were Democrats. There would have been even fewer, the Colonel declared, "had I not been in St. Louis on election day."⁵³

After the election the *Herald* charged that irregularities had occurred in the soldier voting. Mahony tickets were burned at a camp near Rolla, Missouri, according to one soldier stationed there. Three soldiers who voted for Mahony were in the guardhouse, according to another soldier's report, this one from a member of the Third Iowa Infantry Regiment.⁵⁴

During the election campaign the strain of battle began to tell on the editors of the *Herald*. Stilson Hutchins wrote Charles Mason a month after Mahony's arrest, saying he felt it best to dispose of the *Herald*. Hutchins was facing the same kind of opposition as Mahony, he said. And, apparently dispirited at the turn of events, Mahony shortly after wrote Mason that he would retire from the *Herald* when he was released.⁵⁵

The one evident concrete problem facing the paper was financial in nature. There existed a \$2,000 mortgage on the *Herald* which had not been paid, and creditors were threatening to take over. The debt had been incurred by J. B. Dorr, who had sold the paper to Mahony in 1860, apparently with the promise that he (Dorr) would complete the payment. When Dorr and Mahony became political enemies, Dorr failed to discharge the debt. Hutchins met this crisis by buying the old Dubuque *North-West* office just before the Republican sheriff took possession of the *Herald* for the creditors. In his new location he re-established the *Herald*, and without missing an issue continued the newspaper operation.⁵⁶ No more was said

⁵³ Sage, *Allison*, 58; Cyrus Bussey to Kirkwood, Oct. 19, 1862, *Kirkwood Correspondence*.

⁵⁴ *Herald*, Oct. 26, 1862. Also, Charles City *Intelligencer*, quoted in *ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1862.

⁵⁵ Stilson Hutchins to Mason, Sept. 17, 1862; Mahony to Mason, Oct. 1, 1862, *Mason Correspondence*.

⁵⁶ Source accounts of this transaction in 1861 and the resulting maneuvers in 1862 to keep the *Herald* in business are sketchy. The Nov. 13, and 14, 1862, issues of the *Herald* refer to them, but only in bare detail. It is ironic that the foreclosing officer was Sheriff Chauncey Cummins. Sheriff Cummins was a prime target of Mahony in

about giving up the *Herald* after this move, and Mahony re-entered the business after his release from the Old Capitol Prison.

The efforts of Mahony to regain his freedom were not successful until after the election. The correspondence and diaries of Charles Mason, who labored in behalf of Mahony and David Sheward, give the clearest picture of the situation. Mason voluntarily undertook the task of ascertaining the nature of the charges against the two editors and in securing their release. His records tell a frustrating story of failure in attempts to secure from the Judge-Advocate and the office of the Secretary of War a statement of charges against his clients. His efforts to obtain affidavits attesting to Mahony's loyalty from Iowans living in Washington were to no avail either. By September 21 Mason wrote that Mahony and Sheward would probably be held until after the election, despite anything he might do.⁵⁷

Before Mahony and Sheward were released, each had to sign an oath of loyalty especially prepared for them. Besides the usual requirement of a pledge of loyalty to the government and to the Constitution, Judge-Advocate L. C. Turner inserted an extra clause for the two Iowans, and for two Illinois prisoners, Judges John H. Mulkey of Cairo and Andrew D. Duff of Benton. It read: "I will not cause or commence any action or suit against the officers of any loyal state or of the United States, for causing my arrest at any future time." He deemed necessary the special oath for the Westerners, the Judge-Advocate informed Mason, because just such suits had recently been filed by men from that section of the country.⁵⁸ Mahony regarded this special insertion as the crowning blow in the entire episode of his imprisonment, and he maintained that he would never have signed it

the county elections in the fall of 1861. Mahony maintained that Cummins had been derelict in his duties during the near-mobbing of the *Herald* in June of that year. Cummins was the only Republican to win county office in that election. This affair and the providential part played by Cummins are described by Sullivan, "Mahony the Unterrified," 49. There is a letter from Mahony to Charles Mason, dated Oct. 13, 1862, in which Mahony declared that he would "suffer serious loss" unless he could get to Dubuque at once (from prison). Although the editor did not so indicate, it seems likely that Mahony was referring to the impending foreclosure action against the *Herald*. Charles Mason Remey (ed.), *Life and Letters of Charles Mason, Chief Justice of Iowa, 1804-1882* (16 typescript vols., Washington, 1939), 6:664-5.

⁵⁷ Remey (ed.), *Life and Letters of Charles Mason*, 6:644-71 *passim*. See especially 649, 658.

⁵⁸ *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. V. 117-19; Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, 402-403; Remey (ed.), *Life and Letters of Charles Mason*, 6:670.

had it not been for his health which apparently had declined seriously while he was imprisoned.⁵⁹

The release of Mahony from prison was the highlight of November for the *Herald*. Mahony secured his freedom on November 11 and returned to a royal welcome in Dubuque the evening of the fifteenth. Thousands of persons gathered on the levee to welcome him. Bonfires blazed on the bluffs. A welcoming committee of local Democratic leaders placed Mahony in a carriage, paraded him downtown, and finally brought the occasion to a climax in front of the editor's house, where he and others made speeches to the crowd, avowing to hold true to Democratic principles despite persecution.⁶⁰

Mahony did not go back to work for the *Herald* immediately, and Stilson Hutchins continued in charge. The Irish-born editor did not remain out of print, however. The fact that upon his release prison officials gave him an official honorable discharge gave birth to angry outbursts in both the *Herald* and the *Times*, but for different reasons. What consolation was an honorable discharge, demanded the *Herald*, after such treatment to Mahony and his family and such damage to his reputation? "What criminal was ever honorably discharged?" countered the *Times*, which regretted that Mahony's punishment was not more severe. Mahony should have been tried, or should never have been imprisoned at all, that paper declared a few days later. Halfway measures accomplished nothing. Governor Kirkwood shared the same opinion. "Mahony's arrest was a good thing . . . his discharge without trial in my judgment a bad thing," he wrote to Senator Grimes.⁶¹

Kirkwood, himself, received harsh condemnation from Mahony early in December when Hutchins printed in the *Herald* a long vituperative letter to the Governor. Mahony wrote:

As I loved you once as a friend, respected you as a fellow citizen, honored you as my Governor; for violation you have com-

⁵⁹ Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, 400-402.

⁶⁰ *Herald*, Nov. 16, 1862. The *Times*, Nov. 19, 1862, told a different story of the occasion. The parade was a "farce." Loyal citizens darkened their homes and only the *Herald* and the saloons shed any light on the route of march. The weight of evidence, however, is against the *Times*. One Dubuque County history agrees that there was a great celebration on Mahony's return. See Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County*, 288. This work is not generally sympathetic to Mahony.

⁶¹ *Herald*, Nov. 15, 1862; *Times*, Nov. 18, 22, 1862; Kirkwood to Grimes, Nov. 25, 1862, cited in Dan E. Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (Iowa City, 1917), 264.

mitted of the Constitution of our common State, and the outrages you have suffered to be committed on our State Sovereignty and rights of persons entrusted to your care, I loathe you as their betrayer, scorn you as a citizen of Iowa and despise you as a faithless public servant.⁶²

A few days later Hutchins again opened the *Herald* columns to Mahony, who publicly addressed a letter to President Lincoln, proposing that a convention of the two parties meet and by unit vote draw up a new Constitution which, if ratified, would be the Constitution for a "reconstructed Union." He gave no explanation as to what type of Constitution should be forthcoming. Less personally critical of Lincoln than of the Governor, Mahony gave a resume of his views which he believed led to his arrest, criticized Lincoln's liberal interpretation of the powers of the executive branch of the government, and signed himself "another of the victims of your exercise of arbitrary power."⁶³

Neither Lincoln nor Kirkwood appear to have answered Mahony's letters. But one other national figure did reply when Mahony wrote him. That was Horace Greeley, editor of the powerful New York *Tribune*. Mahony wrote to Greeley on November 19, 1862:

Your paper, the *Tribune*, has been made the medium of stigmatizing and labeling me as a traitor, and been with other papers the means of having me arrested and confined for nearly three months in the Old Capitol at Washington. During my imprisonment I saw myself alluded to in the *Tribune* as a traitor, and now that I am at liberty I shall hold you responsible for your share of injuries done me unless you make due reparation.

Greeley's reply appeared in the *Tribune*, along with Mahony's letter. Wrote Greeley:

Judging from the general tone of your journal, I believe that you do not really desire the overthrow of the Confederate traitors, but rather their success in defying the authority and destroying the integrity of the United States. I cannot otherwise interpret the captiousness, the virulence with which you have uniformly treated those charged by the Constitution and the People with the conduct of the Government during the War for the Union.

It is my firm conviction that you and those who sympathize with you desire, expect and labor for a Disunion Peace, and that

⁶² *Herald*, Dec. 2, 1862.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1862.

having subjected our country to that disastrous humiliation, you will be found urging the free West to break away from the East, repudiate our Public Debt, and unite with the Southern Confederacy under the Montgomery constitution.

I am not a lawyer and cannot say that all this makes you legally, technically a traitor. That you are morally, essentially one, I have no manner of doubt. And I know nothing in your past career, especially in your treatment of me and mine, which should constrain me to suppress these convictions.⁶⁴

No more was said by Mahony about pressing for "due reparation."

The new year brought Mahony back to the *Herald* as a result of "popular demand," said the paper. The Mahony who resumed the editor's chair, January 1, 1863, was unlike the Mahony who had told Mason in the fall of 1862 that he would leave the *Herald* when he was released from prison. His new aggressiveness displayed itself early in the month in a fiery editorial in which he declared, "The people who submit to the insolent fanaticism which dictates this last act [the Emancipation Proclamation] are and deserve to be enslaved to the class which Abraham Lincoln self sufficiently declares free." If they possessed the spirit of their revolutionary forefathers, according to Mahony, they would "hurl [Lincoln] into the Potomac, Cabinet, Congress and all."⁶⁵

A defiant note appeared in subsequent issues in regard to the war, Northern soldiers, and proponents of the war. The war was waged for slavery from the start, Mahony charged. "We have, therefore, given it no countenance, contributed toward it no support." When Camp Franklin, a troop rendezvous near Dubuque, was closed by Kirkwood, purportedly because of the "secessionist taint" of Dubuque, Mahony rejoiced, "The Governor is thus clearing Dubuque of all abolitionism." An editorial entitled "The Duty of Soldier and Citizen" charged that soldiers were being used to free slaves and help adventurers make money by plunder. "Are you, as Soldiers," he demanded, "bound by patriotism, duty or loyalty to fight such a cause? . . . Act as your conscience dictates."⁶⁶

Cries of economic discontent also emanated from the *Herald* in January,

⁶⁴ New York *Tribune*, Nov. 26, 1862. This reply was printed in the *Times*, Dec. 7, 1862, but no mention of Mahony's letter to Greeley or the reply by Greeley appeared in the *Herald* of that period.

⁶⁵ *Herald*, Jan. 3, 1863.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 16, 26, 1863.

1863. Eastern factories were amassing tremendous profits from the war, Mahony wrote. Furthermore, they and the railroads wanted to see the strife prolonged. So long as the Mississippi traffic was suspended, the West and the South suffered, but not the East. The Northwest was more united to the South than to the East, he declared a short while later. Should not the West and South buy their manufactured products from Europe, and Europe become the market for Southern and Western products?⁶⁷

Mahony, in addition to his editorial duties, in January found time to address Democratic meetings throughout the Dubuque trading area and to disclaim a desire for the Democratic nomination for Governor. Lack of success of the Northern armies he attributed to the fact that the heart of the people was not in the war. The enemy was fighting for preservation, he said, but the other side was fighting for greenbacks, "easily manufactured, lavishly distributed."⁶⁸

After nearly a month of editorial labor, Mahony suddenly announced to his readers that he was temporarily returning to the East to superintend the printing of a book on his prison experiences. Hutchins' editorial policy during the Mahony absence covered the gamut of subject matter, with less polish than the Irish editor, although not with less fire.

One Hutchins editorial caused Mahony some excitement while the latter was in New York. Hutchins in early April attacked Catholic Bishop John Hughes, who in the spring of 1863 had endorsed conscription if it were handled in a fair manner. The Bishop replied, through the *New York Herald*, with a counterattack on Mahony. Mahony then wrote a letter to the Bishop explaining that the editorial was another writer's work, and expressing sorrow at the Bishop's ill-feeling toward him. Mahony noted, however, that he agreed with Hutchins that the draft was unconstitutional.⁶⁹

Local Democrats had cause for alarm once in March, 1863, during Mahony's absence. Without previous warning, Hutchins suddenly announced that the *Herald* had been sold to Patrick Robb, a party leader in the city. A communication from Mahony to *Herald* readers informed them that he had been offered the editorship of the *Philadelphia Journal* and that Hutchins would join him, provided that arrangements in Dubuque were satisfac-

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 20, 1863.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1863.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1863.

tory. Mahony noted that he was glad that he was "no longer obliged to fight a profitless battle."⁷⁰ But the next day Hutchins notified *Herald* readers that so many Democrats had come to the *Herald* office to try to persuade the owners to hold onto the paper that he and Mahony were revoking their contract to sell. No offense was intended against Robb, Hutchins declared. He was the "right kind of Democrat."

Not only was Mahony's book, *Prisoner of State*, being published at this time, but also Senator Lazarus Powell, Kentucky Democrat, was trying hard to bring Mahony's special oath and its implications to the attention of the Senate. How Mahony interested Senator Powell in the case is unknown, but that he followed Powell's moves with great interest is known. Between December, 1862, and the latter part of February, 1863, Powell sought vainly to get the Senate to investigate Mahony's charge that he had been released only after he had been forced to sign an oath that he would not sue those persons who had arrested him or caused him to be arrested. A 21 to 19 vote against Powell (and Mahony) on a procedural matter connected with the proposed investigation killed Mahony's attempt to gain vindication from Congress. Both of Iowa's Senators, James W. Grimes and James Harlan, cast anti-Mahony votes.⁷¹

Stilson Hutchins, following the debate, tersely noted the refusal of the Senate to concern itself with Mahony's case. A letter from Mahony to *Herald* readers reflected his bitterness with the outcome of the Senate action. Noting that Senator Harlan had maintained during debate that there were good reasons for Mahony's imprisonment, he wrote, "Perhaps there was one. If it was not required by military necessity, it was a necessity to secure the election to Congress of William B. Allison."⁷²

Mahony's activities in the East, from January 27 to May 19, when he finally returned to the *Herald*, had significance in the light of what occurred in Dubuque in the summer of 1863. In February, Mahony was linked in name at least to high company among Peace Democrat circles in New York City. The Anti-Abolition States Rights Association elected him to an honorary membership on February 25, along with Franklin Pierce, Horatio Seymour, Samuel Cox, and other dignitaries. This was an anti-war

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1863.

⁷¹ Mahony to Mason, Feb. 3, 1863, *Mason Correspondence*; *Herald*, Jan. 8, 11, 13, 1863; *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 3 sess., 106, 140, 155, 183, 1131-5.

⁷² *Herald*, Mar. 6, 1863.

group which was mildly active for a time in the city. Also in February, Mahony spoke at one meeting and was present at another of the Democratic Union Association which was sometimes called the Young Men's Democratic Organization, another anti-war body.⁷³

Sometime during this period Mahony wrote and had published a pamphlet entitled *The Four Acts of Despotism. Comprising I, the Tax Bill with All Amendments, II, the Finance Bill, III, the Conscription Act, IV, the Indemnity Bill, with Introduction and Comment*. In early May, the pamphlet was advertised in the *New York Caucasian*, a strong "peace paper." Advertising copy declared the Conscription Act, in the words of Mahony, an act "by which all the bodies of poor men not worth \$300 are placed in the hands of the administration."⁷⁴

Mahony's letters from the East to the *Herald* exhibited the post-imprisonment attitude of his January editorials. No longer was the editor content to discuss violations of the Constitution with little more than a sorely aggrieved air. He wrote:

For every man assaulted by an Abolitionist for the expression of his opinion there should be ten subjected to retaliatory punishment. For every Democratic newspaper mobbed by Abolitionists there should be ten destroyed by freemen. I approve of the suggestion made by Charles Ingersoll a few days ago in Philadelphia, which was to the effect that if any one were arrested in that city contrary to law, or if any one were subjected to harsh treatment on account of his political opinions by the administration, the person of the President should be seized in retaliation, to be held as hostage for safe-keeping. . . . There is really no other remedy left now. The courts are no longer free to administer justice.⁷⁵

This was not a call for mob violence, cautioned Mahony, but a course of action which would prevent mob violence. But the time for mass meetings and passing of resolutions was over, he declared. They were not enough. If one could not seize the President, then one should lay hold of any other high ranking federal officer or abolitionist sympathizer. Typical also of this attitude was his warning to *Herald* readers in a letter from Pittsburgh to

⁷³ Basil L. Lee, *Discontent in New York City, 1861-65* (Washington, 1943), 233-6.

⁷⁴ *New York Caucasian*, May 2, 1863, cited in *ibid.*, 255.

⁷⁵ *Herald*, Mar. 25, 1863.

prepare for "the blood of revolution," a phrase which was to plague him later on.⁷⁶

Dennis Mahony resumed the editorship of the *Herald* on May 19, after an absence of almost four months. Ahead lay an important decision for the Iowa Democrats. Would the War faction and the Peace faction be able to lay aside their differences long enough to face the Republicans with any degree of unanimity in the coming fall elections? The Republican opposition let it be known early what the Democrats would have to face in the forthcoming struggle. "No man can continue a member of the Democratic party and be less than a traitor, and a rebel, and a murderer," charged the *Davenport Gazette*.⁷⁷

Yet the *Herald*, despite the obvious danger involved, resolved to support no Democrat for Governor who bore any taint of supporting the war. Thus, it opposed General James Tuttle, the choice of many state Democrats, a military man and a long-time Democrat, but a man whom Mahony termed an "expediency Democrat." The *Burlington Argus* attacked the *Herald* on this score. The *Herald* had nearly split the party in 1861, charged the *Argus*, when Mahony called an "irregular" convention, and its nominee later withdrew from the race. Now, continued the *Burlington* editor, the *Herald* would settle only for an "ardent" Peace Democrat. "The *Herald* is being inflexible and zealous like the fanatic abolitionists whom it hates." In answer to this accusation, the *Herald* said, "Mr. Todd [*Argus* editor] knows . . . that instead of dividing or distracting the party two years ago, our course preserved it from disorganization and corruption with which it was threatened by those who desired to affiliate it with Republicanism."⁷⁸

The *Herald* stubbornly pursued its course. At the state convention in Des Moines, July 8-11, the paper's power was felt. Mahony was a delegate without office, but Hutchins was put on the resolutions committee. John Jennings, a Dubuque Peace man, was also a delegate. On the first ballot General Tuttle led LeGrand Byington, Iowa City Peace Democrat, 233 to 230, with three ballots being turned in blank. Because of the closeness of the vote, the convention decided to vote again. In between the two ballots,

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1863.

⁷⁷ *Davenport Gazette*, May 22, 1863.

⁷⁸ *Herald*, June 28, 30, 1863; *Burlington Argus*, cited in *ibid.*, June 30, 1863.

Hutchins and other Peace men debated with the War faction which supported Tuttle. Byington finally withdrew, and a "moderate" Peace man, Maturin L. Fisher, received the nomination. Fisher won on the second ballot, 245 to 214.⁷⁹ A Republican organ reported: "Mahony has triumphed! Tuttle was defeated! . . . The suicide is complete. And now it remains for the War Democrats to say whether Mahony shall be resurrected."⁸⁰

The convention platform declared the party to be against a war for emancipation, against martial law in states where the war was in progress, against suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and against the suppression of freedom of speech and press. Republican editors were quick to label the conclave a "Mahony Convention" and to accuse Mahony of being responsible for the plank which expressed opposition to waging the war for emancipation purposes.⁸¹

To this kind of attack the *Herald* felt compelled to reply. An editorial (probably written by Hutchins) asserted that Mahony felt no ill will toward Tuttle and that those who so maintained were simply attempting to "divide and conquer" the party. By such a split did the Democrats lose when Breckinridge and Douglas were nominated in 1860, continued the writer. Launching more deeply into the matter of division, the editorial further stated:

Mr. Mahony will not allow himself to be used for any such purpose. He is too long identified with the Democratic party and has made too many sacrifices for it to suffer himself to be used this late date . . . as a means to divide and distract the Democratic party of Iowa. . . .

Mr. Mahony, like millions of his political associates, is simply a Democrat, nothing more, and does not thank anyone who uses his name as the leader or representative of a faction.⁸²

The *Herald's* work was in vain, however, for Fisher declined the nomination. When Fisher withdrew, the editors stated:

The Democratic party is now placed in the same demoralized, disorganized position it was thrown into two years ago, and it is made the object of the jeers of its partisan adversaries. . . .

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, July 12, 1863.

⁸⁰ Guttenberg Clayton County Journal, cited in *Times*, July 21, 1863.

⁸¹ Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 2:96; Cole, *History of the People of Iowa*, 302.

⁸² *Herald*, July 14, 1863.

Shall the Democracy sacrifice itself and its principles by adopting as its candidate for Governor a man who is in service to Abraham Lincoln, and who, if ordered by him to enforce martial law in Iowa would do it as readily and willingly as Gen. Burnside has done in Ohio?⁸³

The *Times*, quoting D. N. Richardson, editor of the Davenport *Democrat and News*, said Fisher declined "because the nomination to him was not fairly made." As a result, the party's central committee, meeting at Burlington on August 6, chose Tuttle as the party's candidate by a three to two vote. Tuttle accepted the nomination after first rejecting the anti-war-for-emancipation plank.⁸⁴

Herald editorials of the next two weeks reflected the bitterness of the paper's editors over the selection of Tuttle and toward those War Democrats who, it claimed, influenced Fisher to decline. The *Herald*, they declared, could not in conscience take the course of other Democrats in going along with the administration.⁸⁵

Writers of Dubuque's county history state that the *Herald* supported Tuttle.⁸⁶ This is true inasmuch as the paper urged its readers to vote the Democratic ticket, but a substantial endorsement of Tuttle was never given. The General was soundly defeated in the election by the Republican nominee, Colonel William Stone, 86,107 to 56,132.

The return of the *Herald's* senior editor also brought within a few weeks a climax to the bitter struggle between the *Herald* and the *Times*. Mahony's utterances, with few exceptions,⁸⁷ were of the type which could be classified as fuel to the flame.

In early June he called upon local "law-abiding citizens to organize for self defence against the designs of the Abolitionists and Republican partisans." Later that same month he asserted that the requiring of state and national officials to take the oath of fealty to the United States Constitution was not an indication of the sovereignty of the federal government.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, July 28, 1863.

⁸⁴ *Times*, July 31, 1863. (This is a Richardson paraphrase of a letter from Fisher to Richardson.) Cole, *History of the People of Iowa*, 303.

⁸⁵ *Herald*, Aug. 2, 6, 9, 1863.

⁸⁶ Oldt (ed.), *History of Dubuque County*, 359.

⁸⁷ One such exception was comment approving expulsion of State University of Iowa students for wearing Copperhead badges. The University was no place for partisan politics, he said. *Herald*, May 28, 1863.

In taking an oath of fealty to the Constitution of the United States, he who swears it . . . swears to obey the will of the Sovereign States, which made the Constitution, and not the will of the Federal Government which is merely the creature of the will of the states.

No power ever became greater than its creator, so the federal government could not legally use troops to destroy the states. If it did, this was revolution. No citizen was under obligation to support such a revolution. "On the contrary," maintained Mahony, "he is a traitor to his country who acquiesces in the subversion of the Federal Government and the destruction of the sovereignty of the States."⁸⁸

Times editor, G. T. Stewart, was not silent either. Mahony's pamphlet, *The Four Acts of Despotism*, he charged, had been written at the suggestion of Fernando Wood, New York City mayor and prominent Peace Democrat. This charge was repeated in July in an expository editorial which was entitled "The Blood of Revolution," the phrase Mahony had used in a letter to *Herald* readers shortly after his departure for New York. This, said the *Times*, had been a clear incitement to the citizens of Dubuque to revolt. Furthermore, charged Stewart, Mahony's pamphlet was deliberately written for and circulated among the Catholic Irish to cause them to rise in case conscription should be resorted to in New York. Therefore, the draft riots there could be partially charged to him.

To produce a similar outbreak in Dubuque County . . . has been the object of his editorials and speeches ever since his return. If the blood of revolution shall flow through the streets of Dubuque, he will be the incarnate fiend who caused it, and upon his head the hand of vengeance will visit it.⁸⁹

Within four days Mahony filed suit for libel against Stewart. The *Times* editor repeated the charges, citing over thirty Mahony writings in the *Herald* and in *The Four Acts of Despotism* which, he alleged, were evidence of Mahony's disloyalty and willingness to resort to violence against the government. Accounts of the case are nonexistent and neither paper referred to it much thereafter. The only notice of the result was a very small news story in the Republican organ which reported that the grand jury had

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, June 7, 28, 1863.

⁸⁹ *Times*, May 30, July 18, 1863.

failed to indict the *Times* editor. "The grand jury found too much truth in the article complained of," was the only word of comment by the *Times*.⁹⁰

The action of the grand jury now seems almost anticlimactic in light of the fact that on August 11, 1863, Dennis Mahony retired from active participation on the *Herald*. In his final editorial, entitled "A Parting Word," he stated that he was leaving because of ill health and because he needed to pursue a vocation which would enable him to support his family more adequately. While he would retain part ownership, Stilson Hutchins would become the managing proprietor. The change would be permanent, Mahony believed, and he would seek other employment which would not "draw entirely upon the mind for exertion." His final word was a thank you to friends who had stood by during his tenure on the *Herald*.⁹¹

This step, the *Times* averred, was taken to show the people of Dubuque that Mahony had no means of support so as to strengthen his bid to become Democratic nominee for sheriff. On September 12 Mahony was nominated for sheriff of Dubuque County by a unanimous ballot at the county Democratic convention. This nomination brought adverse editorial comment from the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Cincinnati Commercial*, according to the *Herald*. Hutchins noted that in Iowa the Burlington *Hawk-Eye* was giving advice to county voters on how to defeat the ex-editor. Declaring that the abolitionists wanted the defeat of Mahony more than anything else, Hutchins exhorted Democrats to vote for him as a "representative of the party." Only the election of Mahony, he warned Dubuque County Democrats, could prevent an armed alliance of the Union Leagues and the sheriff's office against all Democrats.⁹²

The *Times* seems to have concentrated on wooing the Catholic vote away from Mahony in the two weeks prior to the election. Stewart ran articles from Catholic papers extolling the antislavery view, backing these with selected church pronouncements on the subject.⁹³

In the election Mahony easily defeated his Republican opponent by 879 votes out of a total of 4,260. This contrasted unfavorably, however, with the showing of the Democratic candidate for Governor, who held a major-

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 20, 1863.

⁹¹ *Herald*, Aug. 11, 1863.

⁹² *Times*, Aug. 5, 1863; *Herald*, Sept. 26, Oct. 11-12, 1863.

⁹³ *Times*, Oct. 4, 1863 ("To Catholic Voters"), Oct. 8, 1863 ("To the Irishmen of Dubuque").

ity of 1,266 in the county in his race against Colonel Stone, the Republican nominee. Mahony lost the Julien Township vote which included most of the city of Dubuque by a count of 1,176 to 1,132. Heavy Democratic majorities in the rural townships of the county accounted for his margin of victory.⁹⁴ Mahony was re-elected sheriff in 1865 by a heavier majority.

Although Dennis Mahony remained active as a speech maker at party meetings in and around Dubuque, he seems to have resigned himself to a less active role in the affairs of the statewide party organization for the remainder of the war. In the summer of 1864, through the efforts of Charles Mason, Mahony was appointed to the executive committee of the National Democratic Association, an anti-administration group with peace leanings,⁹⁵ but there is no record of his active participation in its affairs.

Before Mahony's second term as sheriff had expired, he, Hutchins, and junior partner John Hodnett left for St. Louis to establish the *Times* in that city. In 1871, Mahony sold his interest in the St. Louis paper and returned to Dubuque. There he became part owner of the *Dubuque Telegraph*, which had been established after the war. He later bought out the other owner. In 1872 he campaigned for the election of Horace Greeley, in spite of the latter's condemnation of him ten years previously. During the seventies the *Telegraph* became a Greenback paper, and Mahony was credited with being one of the original supporters of the movement. Death followed a lingering illness in 1879.

Editorial comment on Mahony in Dubuque's opposition papers, the *Herald* and the *Times*, was highly commendatory. Both credited him with great intellectual power and complete editorial honesty and courage. The *Herald's* evaluation is the most revealing and sheds light on the Irish editor's war period journalism. According to the *Herald*, Mahony had always been a Union man in principle and his protests over government acts were mistakenly viewed as treason. He aspired to lead in politics and journalism.

That he failed in his objective was because he lacked not ability, but "policy" — the faculty of dissembling if you please. All great leaders appear to follow that they may lead — they "stoop to conquer." Mr. Mahony could not do this. There was little of the politician and none of the hypocrite in his nature.

He had settled convictions of right and wrong and it was no

⁹⁴ *Herald*, Oct. 15, 1863; *Times*, Oct. 16, 1863.

⁹⁵ Mahony to Mason, July 5, 1864, *Mason Correspondence*.

uncommon thing for him to assail whole communities of men for acting at variance with his ideas of propriety. He wilfully followed the bent of his temperament to the ruin of his pecuniary, political and personal prospects.⁹⁶

Mahony's desire to lead, if it were frustrated to a large extent, was probably fulfilled by the one group which most likely would have willingly flocked to his banner, and did — the Irish. In 1862 Mahony, apparently somewhat moved by the war spirit, had offered his services to Governor Kirkwood to raise a company of Irish volunteers for the federal army. Kirkwood did not accept the offer, despite the urging of a Dubuque Republican, John T. Brazill, who declared, "Mahony is loyal. He has more influence than any other in the state over the Irish and no other would be so good."⁹⁷

The *Herald* under Mahony was obstinate, querulous, severely critical, even obstructionist, but not disloyal in the largest sense of the word. The Republicans were enough of a minority after the election of 1861 to give some credence to Mahony's repetitious cry that there was a difference between loyalty to the administration and loyalty to the United States. Admittedly much of this and other arguments of men like Mahony can be written off as partisan policy masquerading as principle. But there is enough truth therein to warrant the use of another term than disloyal to describe the men of the Peace Democrat movement and their press.

There is no doubt that the Dubuque *Herald* and Dennis Mahony during the Civil War accurately reflected the dissatisfaction of a great many Westerners, who loved the nation, who hated Northern abolitionism, who feared the growing economic power of the East, and who, nevertheless, decried Southern secession. But the *Herald* and Mahony represented a minority view which called itself conservative at a time when conservatism had little to offer to a nation which was engaged in a deadly internal struggle for its own existence.

⁹⁶ *Herald*, Nov. 6, 9, 1879; *Times*, Nov. 6, 1879.

⁹⁷ Sage, *Allison*, 53; John T. Brazill to Kirkwood, Aug. 10, 1862, *Kirkwood Correspondence*. Kirkwood made a notation on the letter saying that he dispatched a reply, Aug. 12, 1862, but giving no hint as to the nature of the answer. Mahony was arrested two days later.

DOCUMENT

ERASTUS B. SOPER'S HISTORY OF COMPANY D, 12TH IOWA INFANTRY, 1861-1866

*Edited by Mildred Throne**

Part III

By the fall of 1864 the 12th Iowa was made up of seasoned veterans, men who had fought at Shiloh, Vicksburg, Jackson, and Tupelo, and who had pursued Forrest in Mississippi and Price in Missouri, enduring long, gruelling marches in heat and cold. Three years of war had transformed country boys into tough soldiers, capable of anything their commanders asked of them. The regiment was now a part of the Third Brigade, First Division, 16th Army Corps, Army of the Tennessee, commanded by Major-General Andrew J. Smith, an officer in whom the men had the greatest confidence. He had led them at Tupelo, where he had been the first Union officer to defeat the famous Confederate cavalryman, Nathan Bedford Forrest, and he had seen them through the weary marches in Missouri.¹ They had returned to St. Louis on November 15, 1864, unaware that they were soon to take part in one of the last great battles of the war — the battle of Nashville.

Following the fall of Atlanta on September 1, 1864, Sherman began preparations for his famous march to the sea. To prevent the Confederate General John B. Hood from harassing his lines of supply, Sherman had sent Major General George H. Thomas into Tennessee. When it became apparent that Hood, instead of following Sherman, was moving into Middle Tennessee, toward Nashville, Thomas began to gather an army in that city to stop him. Among the troops ordered to support Thomas were the forces under Smith, then engaged in pursuing Price in Missouri.² On October 29,

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¹ See Mildred Throne (ed.), "Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866 — Part II," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 56: 207-274 *passim* (July, 1958).

² For the background of the battle of Nashville, see Stanley F. Horn, *The Decisive Battle of Nashville* (Baton Rouge, La., 1956), 3-25; Freeman Cleaves, *Rock of Chickamauga, The Life of General George H. Thomas* (Norman, Okla., 1949), 241-8.

1864, the order came from Grant for Smith to hurry to Nashville to help Thomas.³ At that time Smith was on the western border of Missouri and had to make a forced march across the state to St. Louis, arriving there in fifteen days.⁴ This installment of Soper's "History" begins with the arrival of Smith's troops at St. Louis. Installments I and II of this "History" appeared in the April and July, 1958, issues of the JOURNAL.

AT NASHVILLE AND AFTER HOOD

After arriving at Benton Barracks the boys put in a few days resting, cleaning up and getting their appetites satisfied as the trip had been a hard one, continuing nearly three months with scanty rations most of the time, with opportunities occurring not once in four weeks of washing their clothing, and as no change was taken, whenever that necessary performance was engaged in it necessitated sitting without the garment while it should dry. Of course during the trip, as at the noon halts and at other times, the boys frequently went skirmishing up and down the seams of their clothing, but nevertheless by the time we arrived at Benton Barracks something more thorough than a mere skirmish was necessary.

But on the nineteenth [of November, 1864] the paymaster came around and left with the boys eight months pay when all hands broke for the city.⁵ It is seldom that a soldier can be restrained by a guard or a guard line when he has ten dollars in his pocket; at all events to the city the soldiers went. The officers, who by the way are not permitted to draw rations like the men and who had not received any pay for eight months, had been during the whole trip in a situation bordering on penury, and would have gone short many a time had it not been for the foragers of their company. During the latter part of the campaign, by order of the commander of the Department, they were allowed to purchase supplies from the commissary on credit, which amounted to about the same thing as drawing rations. Most of them were rigged out in the clothing of enlisted men which was

³ *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XLI, Part IV, 306. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*. All references are to volumes in Series I.

⁴ See Throne (ed.), "Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa . . . Part II," 271-4.

⁵ In spite of frequent calls from Thomas, and orders from Halleck not to wait for the paymaster, Smith's men waited from Nov. 15 to 24 before leaving St. Louis. *Official Records*, Vol. XLI, Part IV, 342, 343-4, 390; Cleaves, *Thomas*, 253.

accomplished by the officer asking some member of his company to draw him a pair of pants, or a blouse, or a pair of shoes or a pair of drawers as the case might be, and promising when he got his pay that he would give him the Government price in money for the same.

Now the point is that the officers who had been in this situation were not slow in getting into the city and soon had themselves fitted out with suits of new clothes, and having taken a bath followed by something good to eat were, like the men, ready to hunt the city over in quest of amusement. The officers and men sought such ways and places of spending their money as to them seemed most desirable, but it in justice should be stated that there were no great number of *bummers* in Company D, and there was no great amount of bumming done by members of the company, either officers or men. . . .

It was the custom of the boys after pay-day always to send home money and there were very few of the company who did not send home the greater part of what they received. The term of service of non-veterans having expired, they who were present with the command were mustered out at St. Louis and were sent on their way home; those who had been left at Memphis with the convalescents and the camp equipage were afterwards mustered out and all soon left for their homes.

When the command arrived at St. Louis it was understood that we were under orders for another campaign, but it was not definitely settled where we should go, though all had a very good idea as to where we would be needed from what we saw and read in the papers of events that were taking place, and at St. Louis we only waited our pay and such necessary arrangements as were required in order to take our departure.⁶ Everything being ready, and no excuse for further delay being found, on the twenty-third of November, 1864, the Twelfth Iowa and Seventh Minnesota with the headquarters of Colonel [Sylvester G.] Hill commanding the Third Brigade embarked on the steamer, *Silver Cloud*, and on the 24th after partaking of a Thanksgiving dinner, the fleet started down the river, arriving

⁶ Although the troops may not have known their destination, the officers were well aware that they were on the way to help Thomas. Smith's three divisions of the 16th Army Corps were a part of the Army of the Tennessee, and had been "borrowed" by Brig. Gen. Wm. S. Rosecrans in September, 1864, for the campaign against Price in Missouri, instead of going east to join Sherman. The men probably now expected to rejoin the Army of the Tennessee and Sherman in the Georgia campaign. However, Sherman had agreed to let Thomas have Smith's divisions.

at Cairo on the morning of the 27th, where a stop was made and the steamer coaled for a trip to Nashville and return.

While going down, several stops were made and it is said that a number of Company D went on shore and out into the country to a dance. If they did so they evidently did not go far, and they did not stay very long after they got there, as they were on the steamer when it arrived at Cairo. It is also said that General Smith, when he arrived at Cairo with his command, reported to the Secretary of War, or the Commander-in-Chief, that he was at Cairo with the wandering tribes of the lost Jews without a name or destination. The story probably arose from the fact that the Sixteenth Corps had been dissolved and the left wing incorporated with the Fifteenth and Seventh [*sic.* Seventeenth Corps], while the right wing, under Smith, was designated as a *detachment* of the Army of the Tennessee, the First Division holding its old designation and the Third Division of the old right wing becoming the Second Division of the new "detachment."⁷

On the 28th of November, 1864, the Silver Cloud proceeded up the Ohio River to Smithland, Kentucky, the mouth of the Cumberland River and there tied up to wait the gun boats and the balance of the fleet. All having arrived the next day, the command proceeded up the Cumberland River, passed Fort Donelson where the Twelfth Iowa had first been under rebel fire and won glory, and arrived at Nashville, Tennessee, about one o'clock P. M. on December 1st.⁸

Here we found Thomas' army concentrating, hard pressed by Hood. It soon became known among the soldiers of the commands as they gathered about Nashville that General Smith with his command of about sixteen thousand men had arrived, and were on steamers in the river in the city, and this caused the greatest confidence. All felt that since Thomas was almost equal to Hood *before* the arrival of Smith that Hood was now sure to

⁷ The 16th Army Corps was dissolved on Nov. 7, 1864, and Smith's three divisions are listed during the Nashville campaign as a "Detachment" of the Army of the Tennessee. *Official Records*, Vol. XXXIV, Part III, 679; Vol. XLV, Part I, 93-4.

⁸ Schofield's 23rd Army Corps, sent to Thomas by Sherman, had met Confederate General Hood at Franklin, south of Nashville, on Nov. 30, 1864, and defeated him. Schofield then retired to Nashville. On Dec. 1, 1864, Smith arrived, and Thomas' worries were over. He "literally took Smith in his arms and hugged him, for he now felt absolutely sure of coping with Hood." The cocky attitude of Smith's men is shown by the story of one bearded veteran who said, "We're A. J. Smith's guerrillas. We've been to Vicksburg, Red River, Missouri and about everywhere else . . . and now we're going to Hades if old A. J. orders us." Cleaves, *Thomas*, 254.

be defeated. So large a reinforcement with such a commander as Smith is no small factor in the determination of a campaign between two such commanders as Thomas and Hood.

Colonel [John H.] Stibbs with the convalescents and baggage from Memphis had been taken aboard our boat at Paducah, Ky., on the 28th of November. On the 2nd of December the non-veterans were mustered out at Nashville, and the next day received pay, bounty and transportation for home. By this the company lost Sergeant Lyman Ayers, Corporal James L. Cowell, Musician Charles W. Clark, and privates Edward [sic. Edwin] H. Bailey, Thomas Barr, James Gallagher, Allen J. Millet, and Theodore L. Prescott, which reduced the company to forty-six men of whom thirty-six were veterans. In addition to this, Andrew Jackson Bunn, who had by running managed to escape every battle that the company and regiment had been engaged in, was tried by court martial for cowardice at Tupelo, where he had evaded the non-commissioned officers set to watch him and skipped, and was dishonorably discharged from the service with loss of all pay and allowances, which reduced the number to forty-five. . . .⁹

On the morning of the second, the Twelfth disembarked from the steamer and took position near Hardin Pike about a mile from the city. At this time Nashville was surrounded by a chain of forts located on all the commanding elevations, and in them were mounted heavy guns, and some were strongly garrisoned by reason of the concentration of troops. These forts were afterwards connected by lines of rifle pits and earth works. As the troops came up the river or fell back before Hood they were assigned to places in the lines established in the defenses about Nashville.

After the arrival at the place of the command, an order of the War Department directing that all officers of veteran regiments must either re-muster for another three years, or muster out, was communicated to the officers of the Twelfth Iowa. This was wholly unexpected and caused considerable stir, but it did not take long for the most of them to determine what they would do. For reasons which it would not be proper to state in a work of this kind, the officers of the regiment generally determined to muster out, and more than twenty of the commissioned officers of the line were mustered out on the first and second days of December, leaving with the regiment, of the field and staff, only Colonel Stibbs, Assistant Surgeon

⁹ For other comments on A. J. Bunn, see Throne (ed.), "Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa . . . Part II," 212.

[Myron] Underwood, Chaplain [Frederick] Humphrey, and of the line, Lieutenant [David W.] Reed of Company C and Lieutenant [Homer C.] Morehead of Company D, although Captain [Samuel G.] Knee of Company H and Lieutenant [Arison T.] Fuller of Company K, who were on detached service in the pioneer corps, did not choose to muster out but remained.¹⁰

Among those who chose to muster out was Captain Soper of Company D, although flattering offers of promotion were made to him in order to induce him to remain. But he had left College to go into the army and had remained in the service in the First and Twelfth three years and eight months already. The prospects for a speedy close of the war were not at that time very promising and three years more service in the army would put an end to all his plans for a collegiate and professional education, so he elected to go with his messmates, making room for promotion in the company of some very deserving young men. Lieutenant [Homer C.] Morehead of Company D remained, but preferred being Regimental Quarter Master to Captain of the company, so the way was made clear for the promotion of Orderly Sergeant Judson L. Boughton and Second Sergeant John M. Clark as captain and first lieutenant respectively of the company.

Boughton was an ideal soldier, brave and chivalrous, an educated and refined gentleman, a clean moral man, and a pattern in all respects for the company, but at the time absent, sick, with a system filled with malaria from the swamps of Arkansas and Missouri.

After the mustering out of officers and their departure for home, the men felt somewhat blue and despondent perhaps, but there was work to do, and thoughts of home, kindred and friends, possibly sweethearts, engendered by the knowledge that they who had gone would soon be visiting in their vicinity, soon died out and the boys *were on deck*, ready for business and with as much *sand* and energy as ever.

On the third about three o'clock P. M., the long roll beat, the Twelfth formed in line, moved out and took position assigned it in the front, it being anticipated that Hood would make an assault on the line immediately upon his arrival in its front. Company D was sent out as skirmishers on the

¹⁰ Stibbs, in his report of the action of the 12th in the battle of Nashville, commented: "I desire to call your especial attention to the fact that during the two days' fight my regiment was almost entirely unofficered, all the line officers of my regiment except four having been mustered out of service on the 1st instant; and all my companies being commanded by sergeants; during the fight all did their duty nobly, and are deserving of an especial mention." *Official Records*, Vol. XLV, Part I, 464.

double quick, but Hood failed to advance to the assault. He probably remembered something of Franklin, and he may possibly have heard that A. J. Smith was on hand with his rangers; at all events he concluded evidently to await developments, for no advance was made.

General Thomas had been reinforced with a large number of irregular troops — some colored regiments, as well as convalescents, stragglers from Sherman's army, and brigades of different states originally gathered up everywhere in the west and forwarded to Nashville, till he had at his command a formidable army, and an attack on these troops in their intrenchments would have been extremely hazardous. After dark the regiment retired from the line and returned to their camp, and the next day commenced building earth works which had been laid out, connecting the forts and forming a complete system of defenses to the city.

On the 5th, after dinner, the Sixth Tennessee Cavalry, Union, had a skirmish with the Sixth Tennessee Cavalry, Rebel, each alternately chasing the other back and forth to their respective reserves. During the time intervening between the 5th and 14th skirmishing was constant, and fighting was going on between detachments of the two armies, either scouting or doing picket duty, while the main armies *gophered* — that is, used their shovels and picks in throwing up earth works. Thomas' position about Nashville was well fortified and had been since Buell's occupation of the city in 1862, but these works were strengthened and the forts connected by redoubts and rifle-pits, while Hood's army built, not far from the defences of Nashville, in a position they had taken, forts, earthworks and rifle pits and redoubts to protect themselves from an attack of Thomas' army. Day after day distant skirmishing was seen and heard and now and then the boom of heavy ordnance. The weather was extremely cold most of the time¹¹ and all seemed to watch and wait and to be on their guard, and thus the matter stood till the evening of the fourteenth of December when an order was received to move on the 15th at 6 A. M. with two days rations.

When we were new in service orders for marching always contained an injunction or direction that we were to be provided with forty rounds of

¹¹ An ice storm had set in on December 9 and the thaw did not begin until Dec. 13. Thus, Thomas' men were immobilized and he could not move against Hood, in spite of constant urgings from Grant, who feared that Hood would escape from Thomas and move north across the Ohio River. Evidently Grant did not remember that the ice which held Thomas immobile had the same effect on Hood. Cleaves, *Thomas*, 257-61; Horn, *Nashville*, 45-72 *passim*.

ammunition, but no reference in regard to the amount of ammunition in these latter days was made, each man being left to his own discretion. Very few, however, of Company D ever started out when they thought there was going to be a fight unless they had at least sixty rounds and sometimes one hundred rounds were taken.

At the appointed time the command was ready. The Twelfth Iowa was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Stibbs while Lieutenant [David W.] Reed of Company C was acting as adjutant, Lieutenant Morehead of D as quartermaster, Assistant Surgeon [Myron] Underwood as Surgeon, while each one of the ten companies of the regiment was commanded by a ranking non-commissioned officer present for duty. Company D was commanded by third sergeant Howard Pangborn, a brave and competent officer, fit for any command in the regiment. The army waited for break of day before moving. No reveille sounded and there was no call to arms. Daylight seemed to postpone its coming and a heavy fog made an advance impracticable unless to run the chance of being taken greatly at a disadvantage. Thomas had arranged his army from right below the city on the Cumberland to the left, south, and above the city, on the river, in the order following:

First, cavalry; second, dismounted cavalry; third, Sixteenth Corps; fourth, Fourth Corps with the Twenty-third Corps in reserve, with many other isolated and irregular commands filling in interstices between these regular organizations. In this situation the army took a left wheel.¹² This forward movement brought the Third Brigade in front of the first fort taken . . .

¹² Thomas' forces, estimated at about 55,000 men, were as follows: Cavalry, Bvt. Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson; the Detachment of the Army of the Tennessee (16th Army Corps), Maj. Gen. A. J. Smith; 4th Army Corps, Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Wood; 23rd Army Corps, Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield; a detachment of the District of the Etowah, called the Provisional Detachment, Maj. Gen. James B. Steedman; several groups of miscellaneous troops, gathered together under Brig. Gen. John F. Miller and Bvt. Brig. Gen. James L. Donaldson; and the Garrison artillery, Maj. John J. Ely. Iowa troops under Smith, besides the 12th, were the 27th, 32nd, and 35th Infantry, and the 2nd Artillery; under Wilson, the 2nd, 5th, and 8th Iowa Cavalry. Thomas' plan was to have Steedman, nearest the river, feint at Hood's right, while Wilson's Cavalry and Smith's Detachment made a left wheel against Hood's left. General John Bell Hood, whose left arm had been shattered at Gettysburg and whose right leg had been amputated after Chickamauga, so that he had to be strapped to his horse during a battle, had about 25,000 men to face Thomas at Nashville. His three corps were led by Generals Benjamin F. Cheatham, Alexander P. Stewart, and Stephen D. Lee. Most of his cavalry, under Forrest, had been sent to Murfreesboro to destroy the railroad there. In addition, his army had been considerably weakened by the loss of

just at the time the army had to give to the left by left flank movement, which permitted the cavalry and the first and second Brigades of the First Division of the *detachment* to share in the glory of the capture of the fort which was soon done. The army then rested and again formed with more solidity, the Twenty-third Corps entering in as a wedge between the cavalry and the Sixteenth Corps. Again an advance is made slowly and cautiously at first, then faster and faster, double quick, ending in a run and the Third Brigade of the First Division of the detached army of the Tennessee captures a fort in the face of other divisions of the command and the Fourth Corps, and the colors of the Twelfth Iowa waved in victory. Here Colonel Hill of the Thirty-fifth [Iowa], Commander of the Brigade, was killed. Johnny Whittam attempted to lead away the Colonel's horse, but in doing so the horse stepped on the body of the Colonel breaking his arm. Many of the boys perceiving other forts and works beyond, without orders, in fact contrary to orders, mounted the stone fence, crossed the pike swept by grape and canister, and pushed for them, but too late as the rebels pushed rearward and the Fourth Corps became their occupants.

By this time it was growing late and the army was called to reassemble. Col. [William R.] Marshall of the Seventh Minnesota took command of the brigade. The regiment bivouacked for the night, and early on the morning of the sixteenth was again advancing. The Third Brigade took up its line of march by the right flank through a belt of timber some eighty rods in width, reaching an open field nearly a mile across, each company as it struck clear ground being ordered by right into line, then regiment into line and then brigade into line. The Twelfth Iowa on the right of the Brigade was made to right shoulder shift arms, and to advance by the right oblique, which movement was designed to give room on the left and to close up on the right. This oblique movement with a right-shoulder shift, in accordance with the command which Colonel Stibbs knew so well how to give, and did give in his loud, ringing voice, carried terror to the hearts of the rebels in the immediate front, and affected them almost as much as a charge, as many of them stated after they were captured. Onward the Twelfth advanced till it struck a brook or water course behind a hedge. The enemy

many of its officers at the battle of Franklin. His lines at Nashville were considerably shorter than Thomas' and less well fortified. *Official Records*, Vol. XLV, Part I, 90-96; Horn, *Nashville*, 5-6, 14-16, 37-8; Cleaves, *Thomas*, 261; *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1956), 4:425-74.

was stationed about eighty rods in advance behind a stone wall supported by several pieces of artillery which succeeded in telescoping many Union regiments both on the right and left. Soon a drizzling rain set in and shovels were brought to the front with orders to "gopher," but at this juncture the First Brigade were charging on the enemy in their front and the Second Brigade were charging on the same at an oblique. By the severity of the fire in their new front and that of batteries in front of said brigade it caused a wavering almost a halt in the line of the Eighth Wisconsin and Fifth Minnesota. The Twelfth at once without orders and to a man leaped behind the stone fence and put them to rout.¹³ It was done so quickly that the enemy had no time to retreat in order; it was a case of "Dick take care of yourself."

Here General Walthal [sic. Edward Cary Walthall] of Holly Springs, Miss., to whom reference has been heretofore made, came near being captured.¹⁴ Two gunners of a Louisiana battery were captured with their guns, also several other field pieces were left by the now flying Johnnies with the boys in hot pursuit. N. G. Price brought his man to a halt after several orders by putting a bullet through his canteen. The Johnny remarked that he did not care so much about being captured as he did about losing his milk. Whittam downed an officer and got his boots inside of two minutes as alleged by Pat Brennan. Many such scenes took place in rapid succession till the fleetest of the boys found themselves alone and in close proximity to more solid commands of the rebels. To detail these captures by the Twelfth after this charge and what was done by each member of the company would be tedious, especially since the balance of the brigade, the division, the corps and even the army had a hand in the affair.¹⁵

It has gone into history that the Twelfth captured flags in this battle. Many flags, arms and other munitions of war were picked up on the field

¹³ For a more extended account of this charge, see section "The Charge at Nashville," below pp. 334-6.

¹⁴ While acting as provost guard at Holly Springs in August, 1864, members of the 12th Iowa had become friendly with the family of Confederate General Edward C. Walthall. See Throne (ed.), "Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa . . . Part II," 262.

¹⁵ So many Confederates were captured in this charge that the officers at headquarters, seeing them moving through the Federal lines, thought for a moment that the Confederates had mounted a counter-attack. Cleaves, *Thomas*, 262. For Col. Stibbs' report of the part played by the 12th Iowa in the first day of battle, and in this capture, see *Official Records*, Vol. XLV, Part I, 462-3.

after the regiment had charged over them, and this was like most captures of flags, etc., that took place during the war. Credit is frequently given to the Brigade or Regiment that picks them up, while the command that does the charging and clears the ground of the dangerous enemy receives little or no credit for their work. At this point, however, the Sixteenth Corps, or more particularly speaking, the *detachment* of the army of the Tennessee, deserves credit for the capture of many prisoners and pieces of artillery and flags. These the Twenty-third Corps following the Sixteenth attempted to claim as their property, but General Smith was on his mettle, and at once through General McArthur¹⁶ ordered Colonel Stibbs with the Twelfth to take charge of the captured artillery and hold the guns till relieved by his orders. The Twelfth took charge as directed in the face of the Twenty-third Corps and guarded them all that night and till the next day, but in doing so were close to large cotton sheds, or barns, where the wounded and dying both of the Union and Rebel forces had been collected. During the night the groans, prayers and oaths of the wounded and dying made night hideous, and will ever be remembered by those who heard them.

The loss of the First and Second Brigade of the First Division was severe and the loss of the Third Brigade was slight. The Seventh Minnesota lost about sixty men killed and wounded, while the loss of the Twelfth was only twenty men. The only casualty in Company D was the case of James D. Ferner who was slightly wounded.¹⁷ During the two days fighting, the commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the command of the Twelfth did their duty bravely and creditably. When men have seen such service as the veterans of the Twelfth Iowa had witnessed, very few officers are needed to keep them to their work in a battle.

During the night of the sixteenth there was a heavy rain which, with the retreat of the rebels, made the roads almost impassable. Nevertheless, the army moved on the 17th (the detachment of the Army of the Tennessee following the cavalry) eight miles, although it rained almost the entire day, the enemy disputing the advance mile by mile. During the night it rained heavily, also most of the 18th, while the detachment marched nine miles,

¹⁶ Brig. Gen. John McArthur, commanding First Division of Smith's Corps.

¹⁷ Smith's corps suffered a loss of 579 men, killed, wounded, and missing. The 12th Iowa lost 1 man killed and 18 wounded. Thomas' total loss in the battle was 3,061: 387 killed, 2,562 wounded, and 112 missing. The Confederate loss is estimated at 13,189, which included 4,462 captured. *Official Records*, Vol. XLV, Part I, 97-105; Cleaves, *Thomas*, 267.

going into camp long after dark at Harpeth Creek, opposite Franklin, and again the clouds sent down torrents of water most of the night and also most of the 19th, rendering it almost an impossibility to move the command. Nevertheless General Smith was bound to take every inch of ground that Thomas and Schofield would let him while under their command, and was chafing and chagrined that he and [Brig. Gen. Edward] Hatch, commanding the cavalry [commanding Fifth Division of Wilson's cavalry], were not let loose to chase Hood whose columns and scattered forces were now fleeing for dear life to a point south of the Tennessee River.

The detachment passed over the hard-fought battle field of Franklin, one of the hardest fought battles of the war, noted the numerous graves and trenches where the slain were buried, and moved forward a distance of fourteen miles through the rain and mud. Nevertheless, on the twentieth the command moved forward a distance of three miles, the rain still pouring down and that after dark — rain, mud, water and blind darkness.¹⁸ The distance moved in a straight line was not great, but it was tramp all day to keep from becoming a permanent fixture, also to keep from freezing from the effects of the cold and dampness, there being not a dry thread in the garments of any man in the company. Even duck tents and rubber blankets proved no protection. During the 21st it continued raining and the command remained in camp. Some snow fell and it soon became too cold to rain. On the 22nd the division advanced over frozen hubs and slippery ponds two miles where it found a creek too much swollen to cross, and therefore returned to its former camp, but at 3 P. M. moved again and proceeded to Duck River, a distance of five miles, and went into camp opposite Columbia, Tennessee. The command was now destitute of cooking utensils, axes and shovels, but nevertheless managed to build and maintain fires which were much needed. Rations were short but the people of Tennessee had killed their winter's pork, which was just then nice in the pickle and the boys soon *got on to it*. . . .

The detachment remained at Columbia during the 23rd, and on the 24th

¹⁸ To Grant and Sherman, and the "armchair generals" in Washington, the slowness of Thomas' pursuit of Hood was aggravating. In addition to constant rain, which left the roads deep with mud, Forrest had now joined Hood, and was doing his best to protect the Confederate rear guard. Because of this, Hood was able to escape with the remnants of his battered army. Thomas abandoned the pursuit on Dec. 30. Cleaves, *Thomas*, 270-73; Horn, *Nashville*, 154-66; *Official Records*, Vol. XLV, Part I, 44.

crossed Duck River on a pontoon bridge, and marched five miles, taking the same road familiar to paroled prisoners who marched from Huntsville to Columbia in 1862. The detachment remained quiet Christmas day, each fellow getting away with his allowance of corn meal and pickled pork. Too many Christmases, New Years' and Fourth of July had passed since the boys went soldiering to make them grieve for home and its comforts and pleasures. The question now was how best to take care of the wants of the stomach.

On the 26th the command marched twelve miles with the water of the clouds finding new vents and coming down all day, the roads getting worse all the time. On the afternoon of the 27th an eight mile march was made, and the detachment went into camp and remained till the morning of the 29th. . . .

Many prisoners and much property were continually being captured and brought in from the front, and sent toward Nashville. Among the artillery captured from the enemy or abandoned and taken in the pursuit were two pieces of Waterhouse's Battery, First Brigade of the First Division, which had been captured from the Chicago boys in the unfortunate Guntown expedition under Sturgis. When they came in there was great rejoicing in that Battery and much caressing of the guns. On the 29th the detachment marched twelve miles, passing through Pulaski, Tenn., when the detachment cut loose from the balance of the army, and turning westwardly continued its march, passing through Lawrenceburg on the 30th, where is erected a monument to Tennessee soldiers who fell in the Mexican war, and where a cotton factory, employing thirty or forty girls, was running. The command arrived at Clifton on the east bank of the Tennessee River on the 2nd day of January, 1865, having marched on the 29th 12 miles, on the 30th 10 miles, on the 31st ten miles, and on Jan. 1st, 1865, 10 miles, and Jan. 2nd, 18 miles. The rain had somewhat abated but not entirely.

When the command arrived at Clifton it found seven steamers and two gunboats lying in the river, and on Jan. 4th the Second Division, the Seventh Minnesota and Twelfth Iowa of the Third Brigade of the First Division, and all the First Brigade embarked on the steamers and were transported up the Tennessee River to Eastport, some forty miles or more above Pittsburg Landing. On the way up from Clifton, Pittsburg Landing was passed and recollections of Shiloh with its scenes and events and resulting captivity seemed fresh in the minds of the Twelfth Iowa. At Eastport the

Twelfth went into camp back from the river on high hills. By the 10th all the detachment had arrived at Eastport and had gone into what was presumed to be winter quarters, having received the camp and garrison equipment. The Fourth Corps was at Huntsville, Alabama, and the cavalry at Decatur, General Thomas making his headquarters at Eastport. The Twenty-third Corps reached Clifton on the Tennessee River on the 8th inst. and turned over their ambulances, wagons, horses and mules to the detachment of the army of the Tennessee, and left on steamers for the Army of the Potomac. It was said that a very quick trip was made by General Schofield and his corps.

Although the corps had been settled for a time in camp, the troops to a great extent were short of rations, and in order to pass the time and mortify the General the boys would halter some of their comrades and lead them by headquarters, braying like mules in need of fodder.

Hood's escape to the South from Thomas' command was somewhat like the escape of Price in Missouri, though Hood's loss in proportion to his army was much greater than Price's, he having lost almost all his artillery and baggage.

While at Eastport Orderly Sergeant Boughton received his commission as Captain of Company D, and Sergeant Clark as First Lieutenant, Lieutenant Morehead as Regimental quartermaster, Lieutenant [Sylvester] Burch, who had been transferred and promoted to Sergeant Major, June 1st, 1864, was made Adjutant, and Captain Knee of Company H was made Major; other companies were newly officered. By reason of the regiment being below the maximum, Lieutenant Colonel Stibbs could not be promoted to the Colonelcy of the regiment, but was afterwards, by special Act of Congress, brevetted Brigadier General.

Boughton came to the regiment from home, where he was on furlough sick and scarce able to travel, to accept of his promotion, but he never mustered for he died near Memphis, Tenn., on the 26th day of February, lamented and beloved by the whole company. . . .

THE CHARGE AT NASHVILLE¹⁹

When the non-veterans were discharged at Nashville, our regiment was left with only three commissioned officers. Almost every company in the

¹⁹ This additional section on the charge of Smith's corps, at about 4 P. M. on Dec. 16, describes the famous charge which is credited with starting the final rout of

Regiment was under command of either a Sergeant or a Corporal; but owing to our having been so thoroughly drilled by our old officers and that inherent sense of duty and self-pride of the volunteer soldier, the regiment went into and through that battle with all the vim and splendid style for which it was noted. Every man seemed to feel and act as though the reputation of the regiment rested on him alone. We made as pretty a movement under a hot withering fire of artillery, during the second day of the battle of Nashville, as we ever made on the drill ground. The clear ringing voice of Col. Stibbs reached to and over the rebel works and echoed from hill to hill and the quick, prompt, clock-like movement of the boys did as much toward the final result as the grand final charge a short time later.

I must speak of that charge. The first Brigade, McMillan's [*sic.* Col. William L. McMillen], was climbing that steep cone-shaped hill to our right; the 2nd Brig. [Col. Lucius F.] Hubbard's, consisting of the 5th Minn., 8th Wisc., 11th Mo., and 47th Ill., Joe Mower's old eagle Brigade²⁰ — was between us and the first brigade wading through a muddy corn field, and charging on a high stone wall over which came a solid sheet of flame, smoke and lead. It seemed as though they never could get there; the old eagle flapped his wings, officers waved their hats and swords, the men bowed their heads to the storm and advanced only to be, as it were, blown back, like men facing a high wind; they braced themselves, steadied a moment, and again advanced, only to be blown back again.

The 12th Iowa, as indeed the whole of the 3rd, Marshall's, Brigade, had forgotten its danger, and had risen to their feet and stood spellbound, every nerve high-strung and bated breath. The 2nd Brigade made another lunge; we could stand it no longer and away we went as one man; it seemed as

Hood's army. This spot is now known as "Shy's Hill," named for a Tennessee colonel, William M. Shy, who fell during this charge. Horn, *Nashville*, 127; *Official Records*, Vol. XLV, Part I, 435-6. Since Soper had been mustered out, this and the succeeding sections were probably written either by Byron P. Zuver or E. A. Buttolph, the other members of the committee appointed to write this history.

²⁰ This is not quite correct. Col. Hubbard's Second Brigade, First Division, 16th Army Corps, consisted of the 5th and 9th Minnesota, the 11th Missouri, the 8th Wisconsin, and the 2nd Battery, Iowa Light Artillery. The 8th Wisconsin was known as the "Eagle" Regiment, because of their mascot, a bald eagle known as "Old Abe," which rode on their banners through every battle, screaming lustily. Gen. J. A. Mower had at one time commanded this brigade — hence, Soper's reference to "Joe Mowers' old eagle Brigade." The 47th Illinois, usually a part of this Brigade, did not take part in the battle of Nashville. Wm. DeLoss Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (Chicago, 1866), 519.

though every man in the Regiment and Brigade started instantaneously. I have never seen a man yet who heard an order to start on that charge. It was a spontaneous & simultaneous movement of the whole line to save the 2nd brigade from defeat. In our front was a smooth solid sod to the top of a gentle hill. Here we struck a cornfield, mud half knee deep, while our stone wall was two hundred yards beyond that the 2nd Brigade was charging on. On we went, wallowing and wading, leaving a shoe here, a boot there, and every fellow doing his level best to get there. Sergeant Pangborn was our Company Commander, and in that muddy footrace he was our leader. I was one of the long winded fellows in those days, and was pretty well up with him while a number more were stepping on my heels. We reached the wall a little to the right of a right angular jog in the wall. This jog had been torn down by the Rebs, and just inside in front of the opening stood a cannon double shotted with cannister and a rebel Major standing ready to pull the lanyard as soon as there were enough of us along the wall to insure the desired havoc. Pangborn yelled "This way" and in about a dozen of us went through the opening, springing to one side out of line of the cannon. John Whittam's quick motions soon brought his gun to his face and the rebel Major started on his journey over to Jordan. We all hurried to the guns, there were six of them. Whittam straddled the one facing us, flapped his would-be wings and gave a loud crow, imitating the Shanghai, while Bumgardner and Pangborn turned the gun around, when Whittam rolled off and grabbed the lanyard and gave it a jerk and away went the double shotted charge of cannister after the top branches of the tallest tree in that piece of timber. By this time the bulk of the Brigade was coming through the break in the wall, and had the Rebel Major been still holding the lanyard of that double shotted cannon, sad indeed would that day have been for Marshall's brigade and its relatives and friends in the then anxious and sorrowful North West. That was the last charge, and the enemy, utterly routed, were fleeing like so many sheep up a gentle rise through the long heavy open timber, and we after them with all the enthusiasm of victory, capturing all who would wait for us, and shooting at all who would not wait.

CAPTURE OF MOBILE AND SOLDIERING IN ALABAMA

The delusion that we had gone into winter quarters was dispelled on

February 5th, when we received orders to move.²¹ Our Brigade embarked on the Steamer "Magenta," while the Corps Headquarters were on the "Brilliant," Division headquarters on the "Diadem," 2nd Brigade headquarters and Ordnance and Guard on the "Mississippi." Steamers to carry the remainder of the troops down the river literally lined the shores. Here the "12th" received a lot of substitutes and drafted men.

On the morning of the 7th we steamed down the river, bound whither we knew not, leaving the 2nd and 3rd Divisions of the 16th Corps not yet embarked, at Eastport. The Tennessee was very high. We passed Paducah the morning of the eighth, stopping there a couple of hours; at two P. M. that day we reached Cairo. Here a heavy guard was detailed to prevent Smith's "Guerrillas" from stealing something. The boats lay coaling all day the 9th, and the "Guerrillas" occupied their time largely in interviewing commissionaires in the city. We remained there on the 10th until one o'clock P. M., when we started on our boats down the "Father of Waters," still ignorant of our destination. We arrived at Memphis about three o'clock the next day, where we drew clothing, and the privilege was given the mules of going ashore to aid themselves.

We left Memphis at ten o'clock the morning of the 12th, passing Helena at four P. M., and arrived that evening at Vicksburg, when we disembarked and moved out about four miles to the rear of the city, where we remained until the 17th. We re-embarked on the same steamboat and early on the 20th again started down the river, passing Grand Gulf and Natchez, a very pleasant journey, and arrived at New Orleans on the 21st in the midst of a severe thunder and wind storm; finally landing, after several attempts unsuccessfully made on account of the high winds, below the city and went into camp on the old Jackson battleground, where "Old Hickory" defeated the "Britishers" in 1814 [sic. 1815]. For two days it rained almost incessantly, becoming extremely muddy; so on the morning of the 26th the 3rd Brigade moved to dryer grounds in an old brick yard on the river shore.

²¹ Smith's 16th Army Corps had been transferred to Maj. Gen. Edward R. S. Canby's Military Division of West Mississippi at New Orleans. Canby's orders were to move from the Gulf Coast toward Selma or Montgomery, Alabama, and to capture Mobile. His troops, some 45,000, consisted of the 13th Army Corps, Maj. Gen. Gordon Granger; the 16th Army Corps, Maj. Gen. A. J. Smith; a "column" from Pensacola Bay, Florida, Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele; cavalry under Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Lucas; and cavalry and artillery from the District of South Alabama, under Brig. Gen. T. Kilby Smith. *Official Records*, Vol. XLIX, Part I, 91-2, 105-109.

On the 28th the 11th Wisconsin and 124th Illinois were added to our army Corps, and we then learned that we were in preparation to go to Mobile. The 1st Brigade had already embarked, and Gen. Steel's [sic. Steele] Corps of colored troops had already passed down the river on their way there.

The next few days much of the time we recreated, visiting the city and the sights. The levees, the city's wide and beautiful Canal Street, with its statue of Henry Clay and other ornamentations, the Jackson monument on the Jackson battlefield of cut stone and brick, and seventy-five feet high, the various crafts, sloops and ships lining the shore, with the various flags and ensigns of many nations, the city's inhabitants, composed in large part of creoles and French, even the negroes, with their thick lips, speaking the French language, the ancient looking, narrow streets, and the quaint old buildings with tiled roofs in the older part of the city, schooners laden with oysters in the shell, carried from the Gulf of Mexico, enough to make a soldier's eyes and mouth water, were some of the attractions of our few days visit in New Orleans.

On March 5th the troops moved; the 2nd Brigade starting for Mobile by transports down the river and around the Gulf. The balance of our Corps including our Brigade on the 5th marched off six miles from camp to Canal Street upon the Shell Road the distance of about eight miles from the center of the city to Lakeport, situated on Lake Ponchartrain. To the left of Lakeport was Lake Bourne, and not far distant Mississippi City, Miss., where later Jefferson Davis, the arch-traitor, long resided.

Leaving Lakeport upon a propeller, we sailed eastward through Lake Ponchartrain, Mississippi Sound and the Gulf of Mexico, through terrific gales, to Dauphin Island below Mobile, arriving there March 7th, where we remained enjoying the salt water breezes, bathing, and the lucious oysters from the beds about the Island until the 19th, when we embarked on gun boats and "mosquito" boats, and moved up Mobile Bay and into and up Fish river about ten miles, to a place consisting chiefly of two saw-mills, and extensive tar and turpentine manufactories, and there debarked on the 20th. Whether this place was the happy possessor of a cognomen, or had passed down the stream of Time "nameless and unsung" the writer does not recall; that it presented a God forsaken appearance, he remembers very well.²² The next several days we moved west and northerly slowly

²² This was Dannelly's Mills. Mobile, situated on the west shore of Mobile Bay,

through dense pine forests, our march being impeded most of the time with lively skirmishing in front, until the 27th, when we came up to within nine hundred to twelve [hundred] yards of Spanish Fort, not perhaps more than twenty miles distant from our landing place on Fish river. Our army took position, forming a line three miles in length and commenced throwing up works, positions being as follows:

The 16th Corps on right, the 13th Corps on left, 3rd Division of 16th Corps on right and 1st Division on left of Corps, the 2nd Division in reserve. Steel's Corps (19th), still farther to the right in front of Ft. Blakely. The army was under the command of Gen. Canby and was unable to do much on account of shortage of ammunition until the Ordnance Train arrived on the night of the 29th. On the morning of the 30th, Corporals Zuver and Flint with the Ordnance Train were awakened by Sergeant N. G. Price, who then was acting as mail agent at Corps Headquarters. Zuver and Flint, who had long been away from the Company, were surprised but delighted to meet him. Price pointed out to them the location of the "12th," and very soon Company D were glad to meet and welcome them.

A little incident happened here between Generals Canby and Smith of which N. G. Price was a witness. Before doing so, it might be stated that Canby's, Smith's, and McArthur's headquarters were not far distant from each other, and surrounded with only 16th Corps men. The story goes that during the siege, early one morning, Canby rode to Smith's headquarters, and after the ordinary military and civil courtesies, and exchange of opinions on the progress of the siege, Canby said to Smith, "General, I understand your men sometimes take things that do not belong to them." Smith replied, "Yes, by G— d——, we will take Mobile, and it don't belong to my men," Canby replied: "No, no, not that." Smith: "Well, then, what is it?" Canby — "Why my cook procured a half dozen turkeys last night, and put them in a coop beside my tent, and this morning I find four of them have been taken." Smith: "Couldn't have been my men, not my men; they would have taken them all, taken them all!"

On the 31st the 2nd Division joined hands with Gen. Steel besieging Ft. Blakely, a little to our right up the Bay. The 3rd Brigade during the night changed position and took the place of a Brigade composed principally of

was protected on the east side of the Bay by several forts, including Spanish Fort and Fort Blakely, the two most important. For Smith's report of the action of the 16th Corps, see *ibid.*, 228-30.

New England men. On April 4th the Brigade returned and took its old position, with the exception of our regiment, which was put in the front line to the left of the 9th Minn.

The 3rd Division in advancing their picket lines on the night of April 8th, drove the rebel pickets back with such rapidity that they gained and ran into the fort before the enemy had time to recover. The 8th Iowa and 124th Ill. were the first to reach the fort and virtually captured the same, notwithstanding that Gen. Gordon Granger of the 13th Corps claimed the honor of capturing this Fort by reason of having advanced his men into it the morning of the 9th, and tagging the rebel siege pieces and artillery, "captured by Gen. Gordon Granger," which probably was wrongfully sanctioned by Gen. Canby. Gen. Smith at once informed Gerard's Division [sic. Brig. Gen. Kenner Garrard, commanding Second Division, 16th Army Corps] that if they did not soon capture Blakely, he would bring up McArthur's Division, which he did on the 9th, the 1st and 3rd Divisions taking position in the rear of the 2nd Division. During that evening, the 2nd Division, with the Division of the 13th Corps and Steel's colored troops, captured Ft. Blakely with nearly two thousand prisoners, and their siege and field pieces. The 2nd Division of the 16th Corps were the first troops in the Fort, and the first to reach the Bay, but too late to capture many that escaped by boats.

This proved to be the last great battle in the West, and probably the last between the United States and the so-called Confederate States. Mobile was at once virtually evacuated, and the 13th Corps allowed, on the 12th, to take possession of the city; Spanish Fort, and Ft. Blakely being well known to be the keys to Mobile.

On the morning of the 13th the 16th Corps left Blakely for the interior of Alabama, marching about ten miles that day, and going into camp along the side of the Alabama and Tennessee Railroad. One day later [was] the 3rd anniversary of the day when most of the old boys of the 8th and 12th had left Mobile as prisoners of war. Three years previous the "Vivian" was carrying a cargo of human flesh up the Alabama river, but later, to our joy, was captured as a blockade runner loaded with cotton, and at this time the stars and stripes floated from its masthead, sending good cheer to the 12th.

During the 14th, 15th, and 16th, the Corps marched to the Escambia river, having crossed the northwest corner of Florida and the Perdido river

through swamps, over beds of quick sand, and through a heavy forest of pitch pine, with here and there an isolated log cabin and a small garden and cotton patch, a distance of fifty miles. . . .

On the 17th, 18th, and 19th, the Corps marched forty-five miles, with roads getting much more passable, and the country being more settled. About this time we heard the news of Lee's surrender, and also that Gen. Forrest had gone to Memphis for the same purpose.

On the 20th and 21st, we marched thirty miles to Greenville, Ala., a station on the Pensacola and Montgomery Railroad, where we remained until the morning of the 23rd, waiting for men and trains to reorganize from hard marching, bad roads and wet weather. This march resulted, at least, in opening the eyes of the southern Alabama natives regarding the number of people in the north of which our Corps was but a handful. On the 22nd General [Benjamin H.] Grierson arrived from Mobile, verifying the report of Lee's surrender, and at 2:30 P. M. in the heart of Alabama, which furnished the Confederacy its original Capital, the 1st and 3rd Division Batteries, the 2nd Iowa being one of the number, fired two hundred shots, with ten minute intervals, in celebration of the great event.

On the 23rd, 24th, and 25th, the 1st and 3rd Divisions, leaving the 2nd Division some miles back, marched forty miles and arrived at Montgomery on the 25th, where the 3rd Division became guards in the city, and the 1st Division went into camp north and east of the city with a small rebel army across the Alabama river, opposite, with which hostilities were suspended on account of Lee's surrender, and the probability of the surrender of Johnston's army. During the siege of Mobile, Wilson had made a raid from the Tennessee river through to Selma and had there destroyed much Ordnance stores and the large arsenal there which had been turning out many siege and smaller cannon, and other munitions of war to the Confederacy, then wheeled to Montgomery . . . then proceeded to Macon, Georgia, where he made a halt, ending his hostilities except the capture of the escaping "petticoat-president" of the Confederacy.

Many sights that were seen by the boys at Montgomery when there as prisoners in May, '62, were more thoroughly scrutinized and examined, especially the State House, which was taken possession of by General Smith. The reservoir in the center of the street, the machine shops, where the boys when prisoners signed their paroles, the same man with his hair reaching to his feet, and the levee or wharf and depot. The newspaper, the Montgom-

ery Mail, continued its publication, and the citizens commenced breathing quite freely. Still, the news of Lincoln's assassination, which was confirmed there by the 30th, and the inauguration of [Andrew] Johnson by May 7th, made them fearful that the army would seek revenge at their hands, the "Mail" seemingly sympathizing with the nation in its great affliction.

Gen. Steel had left Mobile by steamer and arrived at Montgomery April 30th. Having expected to reach Montgomery in advance of Smith's Corps, therefore leaving Smith and his men without rendezvous in the city, cheated partially out of Mobile, not a 16th Corps man allowed to tread its streets, sending it by land without a definite destination, as many times before, and then trying to head it off from possessing the Capital of the State, and the once Capital of the Confederacy, was to say the least somewhat provoking. By the time of Steel's arrival, Lee's paroled men commenced their tide through Montgomery homeward, and by May 7th were flooding the country, tired of war, but in good humor and very peaceful; at which time it was officially announced that Johnston had surrendered. Gen. Steel assumed command of the armies of North Alabama, much against the wishes of the boys of the 16th Corps. Gen. [Gideon J.] Pillow, commanding the troops across the Alabama and around the Blue Mountain country, was on his way to give himself up but was taken prisoner by some cavalry. . . .

On May 10, at 8 o'clock A. M. the 1st Division of our Corps, excepting the 3rd Brigade, left Montgomery by land. The 3rd Brigade embarked on the steamers "Peerless" and "Terascon" at five P. M., the 12th Iowa, 33rd Mo. and 35th Iowa and Division Ordnance department on the "Terascon," sailed down the Alabama and landed at Selma on the 11th at 2 A. M., relieving the 2nd Division, 13th Corps, which immediately departed down the river. The 1st Division headquarters, with the 3rd Brigade, 33rd Mo. being the Provost, remained at Selma. Headquarters of the 1st Brigade was fixed at Meridian, Miss., and the 2nd Brigade at Demopolis. The Division being stationed on the line of railroad from Selma to Meridian. By this time Gen. Smith had resumed command of the District, and Steel had gone to Texas. Johnston's men were fast returning home with the exception of the Missouri men who were not permitted to enter that state at that time. . . .

By the 28th, peace had fully become settled, blockades raised by the order of President Johnson, and all departments of business re-established, and interchange of commodities between the North and South commenced. The ladies and gentlemen on the streets and in the parlors, the Blue and

Gray mingling with each other as freely as if they had never known war (the loss of the slaves seeming to be the only great source of regret to the Southern people at this time) was a pleasant sight to witness. At the request of the planters, their property was guarded from thieving soldiers, and those of their former slaves who would rather steal than work. These details made a pleasant "soft snap" for some of the boys. There was, in fact, at that time among the soldiers much demoralization, leading to theft, hunting for hidden treasures, and much other immoral behavior. But such practices came from the worst element in the service, which was very small; those who had throughout their service sustained good characters stood firmly unyieldingly and uncompromisingly against these wrongs. . . .

The 12th became provost guards at Selma, and as such became very fully acquainted with the city and the people, their relations with the citizens becoming of most pleasant, amicable and friendly character. The balance of the Brigade returned home; and we were now treated to rations of the poorest quality during our service, probably condemned and issued to us in lieu of better rations which went to enrich the pockets of some one willing to speculate upon our discomfort and misfortune. These miserable rations lasted through July and August. About this time the Corps was broken up and ceased to exist. Captain Fuller commanded the Regiment during August to January 12, 1866. During July the Regiment met in caucus to discuss the political situation and elected a committee consisting of Surgeon Underwood, Sergeant [Jeremiah F.] Hutchins [of Company C], Lt. [Abner] Dunham [of Company F]²³ and Sergeants [Stephen P.] Collins [of Company K] and Zuver, on resolutions, which committee reported as follows:

1. That we will not support any party allowing the negro to vote, and that we will do all in our power, both by our influence and votes, to defeat any candidate for any state office whose name appears on the ticket made at the Republican Union State Convention, last June, at the coming election.

2. We believe it wrong to increase the large class of ignorant and unqualified voters.

3. We will not follow in the wake of the "Dubuque Herald" or Des Moines "State Register."

4. That copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to the "Du-

²³ See Mildred Throne (ed.), "Civil War Letters of Abner Dunham, 12th Iowa Infantry," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:303-340 (October, 1955).

buque Times," "Cedar Valley Times," "Cedar Falls Times," and "McGregor News."

There were only two votes against these Resolutions.²⁴

During the month of August and until September 25th, our Regiment was alone in the vicinity of Selma, and expected that beautiful city to be our abiding place until we should be mustered out; but, as had frequently been our experience, we were doomed to disappointment and received orders under which, September 25th, we left Selma on the Alabama and Tennessee Railroad and landed at Talladega, Alabama, on the same line of road, 112 [miles] North-east of Selma, and there went into camp a mile west of the town near the Blue Mountains on one of Gen. Jackson's old battle grounds. By October 1st the Regiment had constructed, or [had] under course of erection, pine log huts, covered and floored with clap-boards for Quarters, and had settled down to very comfortable living, with what the numerous darkey cooks could steal, and money would buy. Irish potatoes at \$3.00 per bushel were preferred to yams at \$1.00 per bushel, and during the months of October and November, and to the date of our departure, the Regiment lived sumptuously and enjoyed themselves as soldiers can do in times of peace. Still, the grave and absorbing thought among the boys was, "When shall we go home?"

About Nov. 25th we received word of the hanging of Wirz, the old prison starver of Union soldiers at Tuscaloosa, and later of Andersonville, it being a source of gratification that Col. Stibbs was one of the members of the Court Martial before whom he was tried.²⁵ The penalty was well deserved, and met with universal approval among the boys, who then were filled with

²⁴ These resolutions are surprising, considering the growing attitude in the North at this time toward extending the franchise to Negroes. They indicate either a large number of Democrats in the Regiment, which previous soldier votes had not shown, or that the men of the 12th Iowa, stationed in the South during the first days of Reconstruction, had come to realize the problem the freed slaves would present, both there and in the nation as a whole. Such sentiments, within a very few years, would be considered by the dominant Republican party of the North as sheer treason.

²⁵ Henry Wirz, the officer in charge at the Southern prison at Andersonville, had become the symbol in the North of Southern mistreatment of Northern prisoners. After trial by a military court, Wirz was hanged in Washington, D. C., Nov. 10, 1865. Two Iowans were on the military commission which tried Wirz: Col. N. P. Chipman, judge advocate (originally of the 2nd Iowa), and Lt. Col. J. H. Stibbs of the 12th Iowa. For Chipman's story of the trial, see Norton P. Chipman, *The Tragedy of Andersonville* . . . (n. p., 1911).

the sentiment of God speed to the death of Jeff Davis and all others countenancing Wirz' inhuman conduct.

The boys were detailed here and there all over the country protecting the property of the citizens and in many instances no doubt, from reliable information, making love to the southern belles. Company A were mounted. Clark and Zuver ran a sutler's store, and Whittam deadheaded the goods from Selma. During December, the drafted men and substitutes were mustered out, considerably reducing the Regiment. Twenty men, under command of Capt. Breuner [sic. Capt. John Bremner] of Company F, left for Ashville, Ala., with twenty days rations on Dec. 10th, to protect Union citizens against lawless bands of men who failed to take paroles. Capt. Breuner returned to the Regiment on the 27th, and on the 28th, under order from Gen. Thomas, the Regiment left Talledega for Memphis, whereby our Regiment and the 11th Missouri were removed to the West District of Tennessee, this after giving preference to the Regiments having the longest time to serve and permitting them to be mustered out, thereby compelling the 12th Iowa, which was the oldest volunteer Regiment, to remain in the service the longest, the 5th Minn. and 8th Wisc. having been mustered out months before, and having re-enlisted some months after the 12th.

The Regiment on their return by rail to Selma, found the city largely rebuilt, business lively, and for a brief time pleasantly visited and renewed former acquaintances. Leaving Selma on the 29th on the Selma and Demopolis Railroad, and changing cars at the Cahaba Bridge, the bridge being down, we went to Demopolis, boarded the ferry, and dropped down the Tombigbee four and one-half miles to the depot of the Demopolis and Meridian Railroad, and there returned to the cars and arrived at Meridian that night. We remained at Meridian during the next day (Dec. 30th), and on the 31st left for Corinth on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, by forcing transportation and climbing onto the tops of coaches, and arrived at Corinth about 3 o'clock A. M., Jan. 1st, 1866. On the same day we again changed cars and started on the Memphis & Charleston Railroad for Memphis, and at 11:30 P. M. in the midst of rain, mud, snow, very cold and disagreeable weather, arrived there; many of the boys, however, having the misfortune to be left at La Grange, Tenn., while endeavoring to procure something to eat and through falling asleep.

On the morning of the 2nd we marched to the Navy Yard and went into quarters, very glad we were through the most severe, tiresome and sleepless

trip by rail during our service. Here the various quarterly reports and preparation of muster rolls were made, which, in the midst of rumors of muster-out, made everything confusion.

A telegram was received on the 12th from Col. Stibbs at Washington, stating that Gen. Grant had issued an order on the 9th to muster-out the Regiment, but orders like that seemed to find their way very tardily. However, on the 13th orders were received to turn over our arms and accoutrements which was promptly done, as was done also with our camp and garrison equipage on the 14th, on which day orders were received from Gen. Thomas dated the 8th, to muster-out, and with it eleven muster-out and descriptive rolls, which were finished by Company D on the 17th at noon, and placed in the hands of Commissary of musters, Capt. [Marion] Campbell of the 8th Iowa Infantry. The Company D rolls were the second finished and turned over and, with those of one other Company, they proved to be the only ones that did not have to be rectified before the paymaster.

On the 18th the Regiment was mustered out, to date Jan. 20th, 1866, and at once proceeded homeward on the steamer "City of Cairo," leaving Memphis at seven P. M., and arriving at Cairo the morning of the 20th. Here we changed to the Illinois Central Railroad and left Cairo at one P. M., again changed cars at La Salle, Ill., to the Chi. R. I. & Pac. R. R., and arrived at Davenport, Iowa, at five o'clock P. M. of the 23rd, where a general rush was made for hotels and boarding houses, where we awaited our final discharges from service which we did not actually receive until the 25th. In the meantime, however, so anxious were the boys to resume the ways of peace that they had doffed their blue suits in some instances, and in many others only waited to do so and don their citizens suits when they had received their pay. Every man, when paid and his discharge in his hand, put off his clothing of blue to which he had been so long accustomed, and arraying himself in the habiliments of peace, and bidding farewell to his late comrades in arms, took his "several ways" to his home, where, scattered over this state and many of the other states of the Union, the since dead and surviving members of the Regiment became as worthy members of community and as high minded and honorable citizens of the Republic as they were faithful soldiers when the Nation's life was threatened and the supremacy of its constitution and its laws assailed.

[The following sections, scattered through the Soper manuscript, deal with various experiences of members of Company D, 12th Iowa.]

REMINISCENCES OF THE CAPTURE AND DETENTION OF

ALLEN M. BLANCHARD, AS A PRISONER OF WAR²⁶

After a short bivouac near midnight on Oct. 2nd [1862], we arose to a hurried breakfast of hard tack, salt pork and black coffee, and then marched forward to the field of battle [at Corinth]. As to the disposition or location of troops, even of our own Brigade, I can say nothing. My position was in the front rank, and as the front rank, after firing, did not fall back to reload, but reloaded and retained front position while reloading at the same time that the rear file brought their muzzles between and about one foot in advance of our faces to deliver their fire; the noise of their discharges not only hindered our hearing the oral commands of our officers, but rendered us temporarily deaf, so that we of the front rank could not after a while hear the commands of our officers at *all*. (I am deaf to this day in one ear.) This misfortune lead to the capture by flanking of a number of our front rank men; the order to fall back was unheard by them, and they stood their ground until the adjacent trees showed that the bullets were flying both ways from front to rear, and then it was too late to fall back.

Just at this time I received my injury, and as nearly as I could determine, it came from a rebel shot gun, which had been loaded with [blank space in manuscript] — a raking shot which took in the right forearm. At the same moment, a cannon ball plowed through the tree tops overhead, scattering broken branches in all directions; some of them struck me, but whether the gunshot or the violence rendered me insensible, I could not say. The next I knew, a rebel stood over me, he had appropriated my gun and ammunition, which he was industriously using against the still firing Unionists. The latter then seemed to advance, and the yankee bullets came too ominously near the reb's ears to suit him, and he said to me, "Come, get up, if you can walk, for you are my prisoner, and the yanks will blow us both to h—l, if we stay here." I found that I could walk, and with the other prisoners, I was hustled to the rebel rear near a small stream where we got a drink, and

²⁶ See Throne (ed.), "Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa . . . Part II," 212. Blanchard, of Hopkinton, Iowa, is listed in *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., 1908-1911), 2:427, as "Wounded Oct. 6, 1862, Corinth Miss. See Volume 1, page 23, Andersonville Cemetery Record," inferring that he died at Andersonville. This is an error, as, according to the biographical sketch of Blanchard in Soper's manuscript, he enlisted in the regular army after the war, serving until 1872, following which he had a number of civilian jobs, including lead mining, typesetting, and clerking in the Chicago postoffice.

those of us who were wounded washed and bathed our wounds as well as we could.

The wounded dreaded to be sent to a rebel hospital where it was said that amputation followed the slightest pretext, so as to decimate the Union ranks. My wound had not bled much and was now well stanchd, but my shattered coat sleeve gave me away most hopelessly. I found a fellow prisoner about my size who had not received a scratch; I confided my fears to him and asked him to trade dress coats with me, so that perhaps I might escape the scrutiny of the rebel surgeon. Our overcoats had been left behind. To his honor, he promptly acceded to my request, though neither one of us thought about any boot I ought to pay him between coats.

The transfer was made none too soon, for at sunset the surgeon came, as our captors had foretold, to cull out the wounded; I passed inspection without question, but the man who wore my coat was rankly suspected and thoroughly keel-hauled before the surgeon would rate him unhurt. He passed, however, and we had a good laugh about it afterwards. I regret that I did not get his address, and do not now even remember his name.

One young fellow, a mere boy, a former musician in the Union Brigade, had come to me before the arrival of the surgeon, and asked me if I could tell him how badly he was fixed by a gunshot wound in the head. The bullet had struck him just below the left temple, and, slightly glancing, had severed his left ear from his head, except the narrow rim, which, in a lady, supports her ear drops. I told him as well as I could the extent of his injury; he took hold of the dangling ear detaching it by force without hesitation, threw it away as far as he could. He had bled profusely but not dangerously, and had not washed because the broad side of his head and neck was one mass of dried gore and hair, and was too sore to bear manipulation. The surgeon took the young musician away, and I never heard from the lad again. . . .

A German prisoner who could speak scarcely a word of English, little as he understood, gathered that a rebel hospital was no place for a wounded Union soldier to go. When the surgeon came to him this colloquy ensued: "What is the matter with you, my man? "Notting is te matter mit me." "But you are certainly a wounded man, *badly* wounded at that." The man denied it with an oath. No wound — not a blood stain visible, though he was deadly pale. The surgeon did not further insist, but passed him saying, "That man is dying *now* for *some* cause."

That night we slept on the ground surrounded by a cordon of sentinels. The German lay near me, and the next morning he was cold in death. Not even a groan had escaped him during the night, that I heard, and I was wakeful; but the orifice of a spent ball just above the front and center of his pants, which he had studiously concealed before told the fatal story of internal hemorrhage [sic].

On the 4th day of Oct., I became somewhat acquainted with the commander of our mounted keepers; he was talkative, so was I, and we soon began to discuss the relative merits of the Fed. and Confed. causes. We were given no food on the day of capture, nor any breakfast on the following morning; in our argument, I told him that army must be weak that could not feed its prisoners of war. He winced a little, but said the yanks had captured their provision train the previous day. "But," he added in a more cheerful tone, "before night, you shall have plenty to eat, for we shall take Corinth today." "If that is your dependence," I replied, "we shall go supperless again tonight." My prophecy proved true, for before night, we prisoners were falling back from Corinth. When we began to fall back, I said, "Capt., this doesn't look much like entering Corinth." "O, you go to h—l," was his reply. "Yes that *does* seem to be where we are going just now," I cheerfully responded.

At sunset we crossed a small muddy stream, where we quenched our thirst and halted a few minutes, then we began the ascent of a long hill, but when part way up, some mounted couriers overtook us and we were counter-marched back to the little stream for the night, where we had water, such as it was, but no food.

This (Saturday) night I thought of trying to escape; we encamped beneath some very leafy beech trees, and the night was extremely dark. If I had climbed the tree beneath which I slept, the rebels would have gone away and left me there, but I was wounded and faint with hunger, and in the enemy's country, and it would not do to venture for liberty just then.

Our guards were as destitute of food as we, only that they had a better chance to forage, and could manage to buy, beg or steal *something*. They stole corn from fields to feed their horses, and sold some corn to prisoners at five cts. per ear, but I had no relish for such food and eat none of it. I was on the sick list when we broke camp to march into battle, and still had in my pockets some of Dr. Finley's quinine powders; these I continued to take "according to directions," and they formed my only sustenance.

At day break next morning we were astir, but to my surprise, we started on the retreat again. "This looks like we were on the road to h—l again, Capt.," I said to him, but this time he treated me with only silent contempt.

This day, Sunday, Oct. 5th, was the hardest one on me that I ever experienced, before or since. The day was very hot, and but few of us had canteens; I had one, but it was dry long before noon, and we traveled along a high ridge road where there was no water to be had. Of course, those who had no canteens fared worse even than I did. A little after noon we came to where the road forked, and taking the left fork, we soon came in sight [of the] Hatchie river, at the foot of a long hill. How tempting the water looked seen at that distance; but alas we were not to drink of it then. We began the descent of the hill, but when half way down we were met by some rebel scouts who announced that the woods just beyond the bridge were *alive* with ambushed yanks. By the right about face we wearily started back, meeting rebel troops hurrying forward to try the issue with the yanks at the bridge.

Back to the road forks we hurried, and on the way back we passed through a small patch of ripe navy beans of which the famishing men snatched and eat raw, myself with the rest, for I was getting ravenous. We took the right hand road this time preceded by a corps sent forward to make a bridge for our passage over the Hatchie.

No words can describe the pangs of thirst and hunger we suffered, and when, near sunset, we reached the Hatchie river, the prisoners plunged bodily into the water, regardless alike of cautions and commands. The river was a sluggish muddy stream and the water was warm, but it was swallowed with avidity. The old bridge was still blazing from contact with yankee torches; we crossed on a newly improvised bridge, and after a tedious march of several miles through deep sand, we began to ascend a long hill. It was about eleven P. M. when we reached the top of the hill, where we were halted for the rest of the night, in a corral, as if we had been a drove of mules.

Up to this time we had been given no food, but here a fat cow was procured and slaughtered just outside our corral, after which the line of sentinels was enlarged, so that our corral included the beef, and we went at it *peli mell*. Fires had been made by us of stolen fence rails, and boiled beef with water to drink comprised the whole bill of fare, as very few of us had any salt.

I wore boots and both my feet were blistered from heel to toe. There were three hundred and three of us besides the commissioned officers, if I remember aright. All that night long the fleeing rebels came up that hill and passed by us; the profane yells of their teamsters in ascending the hill filled the air with incessant vociferation.

Next morning at daylight our march was resumed, and a little after noon we came to a halt at a stream of pure clear water. We were addressed: "Men, I am sorry that you have had to suffer such privations, but I could not avoid it. We have had to suffer with you, but you shall have something to eat hereafter. I have bought fifteen bushels of sweet potatoes, and corn bread is now being baked for you, though I have no meat to offer today. You shall march no further today; here is water and you can each take a good bath. You can rest here until morning if you prefer, though I will advise you to resume march at midnight, and then lay by in the heat of the day." This advice was taken, and though many incidents of interest occurred, I can mention but few.

I think that it was Oct. 6th that we were suffering from the intense heat of the sun while on the march, and one of the prisoners fell to the ground with the sun stroke, utterly helpless, the Capt. who had halted the column, now held a short private talk with one of the guards; the sick man was carried a little way from the road to a shady spot, and left there with the said guard. The column marched on, and when well out of sight of where the sick man was left, we heard a shot in that direction and a few minutes later the guard overtook us and resumed his usual position. I had become slightly acquainted with this guard, and he knew the inference pointed strongly to his having shot the prisoner, but the first chance he got, he whispered to me, "I fired in the air." Whether these words were true or false I never learned, but for humanity's sake I have hoped they were true.

We one day passed through an abandoned peach orchard that had been turned out to grass and came to a rivulet. Here the Capt. said, "We will take a short rest before we commence the ascent of that long slope." Some of us got under adjacent peach trees for shade; one long haired prisoner sat alone under a stunted bushy tree some fifty feet distant from the Capt. who was near me. Soon the long haired man was seen to be fighting flies or some black insects that were buzzing in his ear and the back of his neck; I looked more carefully and descried in his tree a huge nest of hornets.

I at once warned him, and he beat a hasty retreat; but the hornets were

by this time galling their work in on his neck and ears, and his frantic efforts to get rid of his tormentors was the source of much mirth, in which all joined, but none so heartily as the Capt., who said to the panting man, "Those are rebel hornets and could not be *expected* to like a *yank*."

We soon resumed our march, but the Capt. quickly got what our martyred Lincoln would call his "come-up-ence," and in the following manner: We began to ascend the hill, and there were two parallel roads — one a new track to the left of the old, the latter having been badly washed out by rains. The prisoners marched in the new road, while our mounted guards on the right rode in the gully. Near our left was a rail fence; on the right the whole hillside was densely covered with hazel bushes about six feet tall. Half way up the hill, something happened to our officers' wagon at the head of the column and when we halted, the Capt's horse stood in the gully with his head near where a populous colony of yellow jackets had burrowed their nest in the bank; this nest the restive horse had pawed into, and then advanced enough to bring the now infuriated swarm under his flanks. No one had noticed that anything was wrong, but now the horse became almost unmanageable, and I then saw what the trouble was — the air under the horse was full of yellow jackets on the warpath — and the Capt. exclaimed, "Whoa, whoa, what is the *matter* with you?" At this moment the long haired man took in the situation and yelled, "I'll tell ye w'ats the matter, cap; that hoss o' yourn has broken into a nest o' yankee *yaller jackets*, an' they couldn't be *expected* to like a *rebel* hoss." Instantly the Capt. glanced beneath his prancing steed and saw it all. Turning his horse to the right, he gave it rein, which it was not slow to improve; maddened by the stings of the insects and frightened by a simultaneous roar from more than a hundred yankee throats, that horse waltzed off through the bushes in a hurry. The bushes were tall enough to hide the horse from view, but not his rider; and the sight of the meteor like zigzag flight of that man I shall never forget.

We were taken to Ripley, Holly Springs and Jackson, and thence by rail to Vicksburg, Miss., where part of us were put in a brick jail, previously used for jailing negro slaves, and part were placed elsewhere. . . . Here we usually received one meal per day — never more — or rather, one small daily ration of something to sustain life, we cooking it ourselves the best we could. Part of the time our sole allowance was one pint of corn meal per day per man. Peddlers were allowed to visit our prison with food for sale, and such of our men that had money made purchases at high prices.

A rebel surgeon visited us every few days to look after our health; on his first visit, he offered Confederate paper money for greenbacks, dollar for dollar to any prisoners who would exchange. I became slightly acquainted with him, but did not let him know that anything ailed me. When he next came, he offered two dollars for one in exchange, and I could not help saying to him, "How now Doctor, can't you discern by the money-pulse of the body-commercial that your confederacy is very sick when it will give two dollars for one." "No I do not so interpret the symptoms; I'll tell you why. We in the South are very short of medicines in our army just now, and greenbacks will buy quinine, while our money will not."

I had been keeping a diary of daily events, even after capture, but I had noticed too closely the approaching inanition of the rebel cause. I had noted down too much, and the little book had to be given up never to be returned.

The jail contained four rooms each about twenty-four feet square, and twelve feet to ceiling. The room I was in (the South East) had a large fire place, and as plenty of cord wood was issued to us, we kept a good fire at night, which gave light, warmth and cheerfulness; there was also a bare bedstead; the men rigged a board bottom for it, and four slept on it. At night, the floor was packed with men like sardines in a box, as closely as they could lie even under the bedstead.

There was near the fireplace a large shelf firmly attached to the wall about nine feet above the floor. This shelf was a two inch plank about eight inches wide and some six feet long. One of our members was a bully, a great big-fisted fellow, sound and well who weighed a hundred and eighty pounds, if he weighed an ounce. He had shown a disposition to domineer over everybody; got the best and most of everything, and did much as he liked. On our first night in this jail, most of us had retired, and bully, glancing at the shelf, said "I think I'll sleep there." Suiting his action to his words he climbed to his perch, and was soon sound asleep. Beneath him lay the dense human carpet covering every spare inch of space. Behemoth in his sleep rolled from his shelf and fell sprawling through nine feet of space, landing his great avoirdupois upon the sleepers beneath. I was asleep and some feet distant, but the chorus of imprecations that arose, each keyed to a different note, waked everybody in the room. Bully gathered himself up and stood by the fire, looking sheepish enough. He tried to apologize, but the more he sought to placate them, the louder they swore, and he saw that his prestige was waning. After he had waited until quiet was restored, he

looked up at the shelf and said, "Well I think I'll go to bed again, and I'll try to be more care—" "No, not upon that shelf, will you or any other man sleep hereafter. The first one who tries it will get h—l pounded out of him; be he big or little. That's so," said a dozen voices. So the bully was cowed and ever after as meek as a lamb.

Our jail was enclosed within a high brick wall, and at one place, a shell from a previous bombardment (by Sherman, I think) had made a large breach through, at which a guard was stationed; sentinels were also stationed along the wall at intervals, and one at the main entrance. The jail would not contain all of us at once for sleeping, and the men took their turn sleeping out doors. We were sadly in need of some amusement to while away the time; there was but one pack of playing cards, and it was kept constantly in use from daylight till dark. I can truly say that it became the worst dog-eared pack I ever beheld. The men also had one pocket new testament, and it too, like the cards, was incessantly in use. First one good reader and then another would take turns reading aloud to a large circle of hearers; meantime, as many as could get near enough to see, watched the ceaseless game of cards, with ready reliefs eager to replace the tired-out players. The condition of that testament can be better imagined than described.

We were not long there before we were infested by the grayback curse of the soldier, and only the most persistent skirmishing and war of extermination enabled us to get any sleep. On the shady side of our prison wall sat a row of men all busy first with one garment and then another killing all in sight; this murderous squad was being constantly relieved, and woe to the laggard who missed a turn even for one day — his loss of sleep would arouse him betimes next day, and make him attend to skirmish duty better.

An immense cistern within the walls supplied us with pure cold water to drink; it was used sparingly for drinking and cooking only, and when on Oct. 29th we were paroled, our supply of cistern water was nearly exhausted. On that day we were carefully mustered, and each man was furnished with a printed copy of parole with his name written therein and had at the bottom the written signature of a rebel officer.

Then we were placed on board a rebel steamer and taken three miles up the river where a Union steamer laden with about an equal number of secesh prisoners from Camp Douglas, Chicago, Ill., met us. A transfer of cargo was made, and we were soon on the way to St. Louis, Mo.

On board we had the U. S. army ration issued to us, which was a vast improvement on the prisoners' bill of fare; but I felt very poorly and did not take kindly to hard tack and junk. I longed for some wheat bread once more, but could get none until we reached Helena, Ark., where I got a small loaf for a dime, and then couldn't eat it after tasting it. Too dry, tasteless and woody, and I had to trade it off for something I could eat.

Our boat laid at the landing some time, and many of the men went ashore to stretch their legs. From the landing, a steep hill arose; a few only climbed the ascent to interview a peddler who had something in a large barrel which proved to be short, dissevered links of bologna sausage. His price was high and our men were very hard of cash; a wrangle ensued and in the scuffle the barrel got pushed over the brink of the hill, and by the time it reached the wharf not one link of that once full barrel remained *in situ*, each shining link ejected from the bounding barrel had chosen its own course down hill where it met the grasp of a friendly hand that stuck closer than a brother.

I was on the boat and did not get to taste the sausage; but I did laugh till I cried to see that large shower of bologna come bounding down the hill, and the earnest and successful efforts of the hungry multitude to secure trophies of the event, which they did most effectually. As for those on top of the hill, the sudden departure of the barrel arrested the quarrel, and all looked on with wondering interest at the scene, which transpired so quickly that the astonished owner of the "missing links" stood open mouthed until their total absorption became a palpable fact. Then, vowing vengeance, he ran away to get a warrant, and just then our whistle sounded "all aboard." The men were not slow in heeding the call, and when we were about mid-river, we saw the peddler and a constable wildly gesticulating from the shore, but no heed was paid to them. The "missing link" was, by this time, lost forever.

On arrival at Benton Barracks after a voyage of about a week, in which we encountered one snow storm, I was sent to the hospital, where, though I had the best of care and treatment, I came near death's door; I had borne hardship and suffering under severe privations, and no care, but now, with everything in my favor, I grew worse. I suffered too from a chronic nephritis contracted from exposure, and after lingering until May 22nd, 1863, I was discharged on surgeon's certificate of disability.

REMINISCENCES OF THE SECOND CAPTURE OF EDWIN A. BUTTOLPH,
ON JULY 13, 1864, AND HIS DETENTION IN REBEL PRISONSPrepared by himself.²⁷

On the march from Pontotoc toward Tupelo, Miss., July 13, 1864, the enemy appeared in force in our rear. Our Brigade, commanded by Col. J. J. Woods, was ordered back on double quick time about one mile. After halting, Col. Woods rode up to Col. Stibbs, Com'd'g Regiment, who sat on his horse at the head of Co. D and called for two volunteers for each Company. Ed A. Buttolph, hearing the command, stepped four paces to the front of Co. D as a volunteer. Col. Stibbs repeated the command to his regiment; Capt. Soper of Co. D ordered Orderly J. L. Boughton to make a detail. Col. Woods, hearing the order, said: "If Co. D has no volunteers, I will go to some other Company for them," and rode away. Capt. Soper did not call for volunteers, but marched down the line in front of Co. D looking each man, in the front and rear rank, in the face, until he came to the foot of the Company and picked out Ed A. Buttolph, then turned to Harmon Grass and said: "You can go with 'Bud.'" A Brigade staff officer then placed the flankers in position on the right hand side of the road, and the side of the train from which the enemy were expected to attack, with orders to march about three hundred yards from and parallel to the road and line of march, and keep a sharp look out for the enemy, who were liable to attack the train. Soon a couple or more shots were heard, which were evidently from rebel sources. I had no orders to fall back, and did not until too late, then I found my Regiment was not where I had last seen it. The wagons were passing by as fast as whip and shouts of drivers could make the mules go. I was ordered to halt by two men, dressed in Yankee suits complete, excepting straw hats. Each had a figure seven on his hat. I supposed they were members of the 7th Minnesota of our Brigade. I was not long in doubt when a shot gun, and a navy revolver were pointed at me,

²⁷ Edwin A. Buttolph, of Cedar Rapids, enlisted in Co. D, 12th Iowa, Oct. 19, 1861. He was captured at Shiloh, and again near Tupelo, Miss., as described in the following section. He served until his muster out at Davenport, June 15, 1865. *Roster and Record*, 2:428. After the war, according to the Soper manuscript, he continued to live in Cedar Rapids, enjoying perfect health. Soper adds of Buttolph: "Is the only case known where the Rebs failed to break the health of a prisoner where they had two chances at him, the last nearly a year." For the events leading up to his capture in 1864, see Throne (ed.), "Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa . . . Part II," 253.

and "What Regiment do you belong to?" gave the parties away. They were 7th Tennessee Cavalry.

I was taken to the rear, and, as usual, searched, and all my hard money taken, but he had no use for my greenbacks. I was turned over to an Infantry man and ordered to Gen. Forrest's Head Quarters. The enemy were lying in wait for the troops to pass so as to "gobble" the provision train, but they were not posted as to our guarding the train. I was told that they did not intend to let us know that they were hidden, but Grass of Co. D (I saw him), got up on a high stump, and one of their advance guard could not resist the temptation and fired. I was told that Grass got down from the stump regardless of dignity. I was also told that it was the hottest place for a few minutes many of them ever saw. They were under the impression that part of the command were one hundred day's men, and they had a picnic before them. I laughed and said, "If you fool with those men for one one hundred day's men, you will get stung like a 'wassup.'" There was not a Regiment there but had been in three or four or more battles.

The Guard and I started for Head Quarters, and met Gen. Chalmers a fine looking man and officer; he saw me and asked, "Are you a Yank?" "Yes." "What Regiment?" "12th Iowa." "You Iowa men are as good as we are, but we can lick eastern men one to six, and that the west ought to be with the south against the east; and when would the war be over." "Next Fourth of July," I said. He laughed and asked if we were going to give up the cause so soon. I replied, "Not any, the boot was on the other leg, the South would be thrashed." He scouted the idea, and said "The South would never give up; they were in the right; the men would die fighting and then the women would fight for the cause, 'shuah to win.'" All we Yankees were after was plunder.

I next met a Captain, one of those who always had business far in the rear while his comrades were fighting the enemy. He would not disgrace himself by speaking to a Yankee. Had the Guard ask me numerous questions, but would not answer a question I asked. Asked the Guard if my capture had been reported. "No sir." "I, Captain — so and so — order you to take the prisoner into the woods and lose him," no doubt meaning to shoot me. The Guard belonged to the 49th Tennessee and had been a prisoner of war, captured at Ft. Donelson, and taken to Camp Douglas, Chicago, Ill., where he was treated well and wished he was there again. He would always treat prisoners gentlemanly and did divide his rations with me, short

rations at that. The Guard asked me what regiment I belonged to, and I told him "The 12th Iowa Infantry." "Why," said he, "that is the same Regiment that turned my Regiment out of our log cabin into the cold and snow the night of the surrender of Ft. Donelson." Further conversation revealed the fact that Co. D had used the same huts his Company had, and that my mess had used the same log cabin his mess had. He said "it was the fortunes of war" but it was hard on them but they did not blame us — would have done the same under similar circumstances.

Not long after, I was overtaken by two men riding mules. The elder man told the guard that he was one of Gen. Forrest's Head Quarters Clerks, that he would take charge of me and that he could return to his Regiment. He did so, and requested his comrade to ride on and report his coming, and he would ride slow as I was on foot. He gave me his name; Jackson, Miss., was his home; was a strong Union man. Had never carried a gun and never would. Had remained south to save his property. Asked for news from the north; had heard every man had been drafted; had heard of the N. Y. riots and that things were decidedly against the North. Hoped I was right when I told him how I saw things up North, having just come from there on a Veteran furlough, and that the next Fourth of July would see the end of the war. He wrote my name and promised to remember me. I told him that I belonged to the 12th Iowa Regiment. "Why," said he, "that is the Regiment that fired my property, and destroyed it in 1863, but I do not blame you; it is the fortunes of war, and you were ordered to do so."

We soon saw a Brigade of Rebs on their way to serve A. J. Smith as they had Sturgis.²⁸ All were confident of an easy victory. One man was inclined to shoot me, but his comrades threw up his gun, called him a coward, and for him to wait until tomorrow when he would have all the chances he wanted to shoot Yankees that had guns, and not prisoners.

We marched all around the Brigade, but could not find Gen. Forrest. I was turned over to the care of a Sergeant and squad, and camped in an orchard, sleeping under an apple tree. I awoke in the night from the jar of the tramp of many feet of men and horses; reinforcements. Guards looked at me to see if I were awake, and then commenced telling what each had heard, thinking I was asleep. Three thousand five hundred were passing by, from Okolona; had strong reinforcements of Cavalry also. And to hear the

²⁸ Forrest had defeated Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis at Guntown, Miss., in June, 1864. *Official Records*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 85ff.

squad of guards talk it was goodbye to A. J. Smith; he was whipped worse than Gen. Sturgis was, and they were sure of some coffee and crackers — plenty to eat.

Next morning, after a short march, I found myself in the woods to the rear of a two story farmhouse, and not far in front of me a rail fence and cotton bales near a log cabin, and it was not long ere the crack of large and small guns announced that a fight was going on. The white house was being used as a hospital for wounded officers and the lawn around the house for the privates. It was not long before the house and lawn were full; when one died a shallow hole was dug near him and he was rolled in and covered; to deceive not only their own men but the Yanks as to how many were killed, and I am sure they did not know themselves, as they kept no account, and I know, from hearsay, that they did not know how many were in the Regiments in the fight. I was no spring chicken in seeing wounded carried to the rear, but that day beat anything I had ever seen. Men told me that it was the hottest place they had ever yet been in. Some had been at Corinth, Gettysburg and other places. On the battle field I met a fellow prisoner from an Ohio Regiment, but he would not believe that I was a Yank and would hardly say a word. I left him with his guard. I had four men on horseback guarding me.

After the fight was over I was turned over to the care of a three hundred pound quarter master, and a small boy about fifteen years of age. While lying under a tree they told me how A. J. was going to be whipped, and how the Mobile & Ohio Ry. ran north and south, with swamp on each side impassable in wet season. A. J. Smith is in Tupelo. Confederate army reaches from a point on the railroad north of town to a point south of town. A. J. cooped in and they had him "shuah," and he would laugh and tell it all over again, and how they were going to have some Yankee coffee; cared more for coffee than anything else. But hark, what is all that noise? Bedlam broke loose? Clanking of guns and sabers, shouts of men, and by where we lay they rushed in haste. I could not find out what was wrong. Q. M. said he would go and see, leaving me on parole with the boy. The boy tried to sight his gun at me but was too small. The Q. M. soon came back saying: "Yank, it is your turn to laugh: you were right; A. J. is a better General than Forrest." "The 2nd Iowa Cavalry and the 7th Kansas Jayhawkers have fired a small bridge of no account down along the railroad. There goes the whole Confederate army after them and there goes Gen. Smith, and no one

to molest him; Laugh Yank." And I did laugh, he looked so disappointed. "I told you all the time that if you fooled with A. J. Smith you would get stung like a 'wassup'; he is not Sturgis." And I laughed till my sides were sore, he joining me, wishing Marmaduke was in command instead of Forrest, and then old Smith would have got it.

The Quarter Master turned me over to a squad of twenty-two of a Tenn. Regiment, in charge of a fellow called "Joe." As soon as Joe saw me he yelled "Hello Bud." I replied, "You have me, I do not know you." He replied by saying, "You belong to Co. D. 12th Iowa. You were in camp near Memphis; your line of tents was third, and your tent first on the color line. Friday before you left Memphis, your Company was on guard near the cotton factories near town. That afternoon you were down on the Levee. A wagon with some ladies in it was there, and the team started to run away; you caught them. Saturday I came out of Memphis with a dead mule with Eight hundred Dollars worth of Quinine and ammunition. The day you passed Ripley I was near in the woods and counted your flags. Your Regiment and some others had the stars and stripes and another flag; there were thirty-two flags." I gave up; he knew me, and also knew more about the flags than I did. He had in charge nine prisoners; one from the 35th N. J., two from 47th Ill., one from the 8th Wisc., one from the 72nd Ohio, one from the 117th Ill., one from the 95th Ohio, one from 4th Mo. Cavalry, one from an Ind. Regiment, I making ten.

We passed over the battle field of Thursday. The dead had all been buried and the wounded cared for. That evening we arrived at Tupelo, and were put in a log cabin. The morning of Friday, July 15th, we were taken out under some trees. While there Comrade H. R. Andrews of Company B, 12th Iowa, and Harry Winterstein, Co. I, 12th Iowa, who had volunteered to go south and care for our wounded, came to us asking for some nurses. I do not know how they succeeded. That night we were put in a store room east of the railway track, and laid in the room until about 4 P. M. Saturday, July 16th, then marched to Okolona, six miles where we found Jesse Howes of Co. C, 9th Ill. Cavalry.

Sunday the 17th a train of fifteen cars loaded with wounded and commissioned officers came on from Tupelo, soon followed by a second train of 12 cars loaded with Confederates, wounded privates and Yankee prisoners. We were put on this train and left for Meridian, Miss. At a station on the Mobile & Ohio R., near Columbus, Miss., we found the citizens of Co-

lumbus out in mass with everything eatable one could imagine, intended for the wounded officers, but their train was gone when they arrived, and train No. 2 got the benefit, and we Yanks had a share.

While there, a portly gentleman came into the car I was in; came to me and questioned me: "What state are you from? What Regiment? Are you not tired of fighting we 'uns? How soon would this cruel war be over? etc." Then he told me that the South was in the right, and they would never be beaten; that they intended to raise the black flag, and take no more prisoners nor be taken prisoners themselves, and would kill those they had, and to save my life I had better join with them. I refused, of course. Then he pointed out a beautiful lady standing on the platform of the station, saying, "Do you see that lady out there? That lady's father is worth forty thousand dollars in land and money; he is conscripted, and if you will take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States, and take his place she will become your wife." I replied that, "money would not buy me to desert the stars and stripes." He brought the lady in and introduced her to me. She was beautiful, neat and trim, and had been finely educated in the north; small in stature, with black hair and eyes. He also talked with a prisoner from the 117th Ills. Infantry. The offer was a tempting one, but the victim would probably not have lived long after the marriage ceremony. He was not to be tempted.

July 18th arrived at Meridian, Miss., and was put inside of a stockade about a hundred by hundred fifty feet in size, with two log cabins inside and nearly two hundred prisoners. We fared very well on bread and a small piece of meat each day. About the 20th of July we boarded the Alabama and Mississippi railroad cars, and started for Selma, Alabama, and arrived the same day, and were put in the third story of a business block where we stayed four or five days. July 26th boarded a steamer on the Alabama river for Cahaba, eighteen miles south. Here we found an old cotton ware house converted into a prison pen. The building was about 116 by 193 feet and but one story high. In the N. E. corner in a room 40 by 60 were two rows of bunks, three rows high. The space of five feet all around the inside of the building was a dead line. At the entrance was a board wall extending into the prison 12 feet, that space was also a dead line. The building was surrounded by a stockade of boards twelve feet high on the east, south and west sides distant about fifteen feet from the brick wall. On the north it was farther away, embracing a space of about 75 by 140

feet which was used in the day time for cooking purposes. Ten feet all around the inside of this stockade was a space called "the dead line," and any man stepping inside of this was as good as dead. Twelve feet inside and ten feet outside the main entrance and extending to the east wall of the building, making a space 20 by 50 and 12 inside, mentioned before, was also a dead line, and was sure death to any one stopping going in and out, and many a poor fellow was killed there. As a stimulus to shoot prisoners a three months furlough was offered the guard.

Inside the main building were three boxes sunken in the ground filled with water from an artesian well three or four blocks away. The water was conveyed to these boxes by the street gutters and under the stockade by a wooden tank. One barrel for drinking and cooking, one for bathing and the third for washing clothes, the refuse forming a running stream through the sinks to the river. The bunks accomodated about eight hundred; the balance laid on the ground. At the time of our arrival there were about two hundred prisoners there, but they came in squads of from ten to five hundred, and it was not many days until two thousand were there. At first we drew a quart of meal and half a pound of beef each day, and occasionally fresh pork, beans, rice and salt pork. Later, as the crowd increased, one pint of meal was a ration and meat scarce, also the other articles mentioned.

We had a minister from a Mich. Regiment. A lady citizen, Mrs. Gardner, loaned him a Bible, and he held forth each Sabbath. Among the guards were ministers from nearly all Churches extant. After our man concluded, one or more of them would reply. Our minister would say nothing in regard to the war, but the other fellows all preached that the south was right, and we were in the wrong, and some would get quite angry because we did not pay any attention to them. One, a Dunkard preacher, had a beard at least four feet long. There was also a dozen of fifteen or sixteen year old boys on the stockade. Also Indians guarding us.

Oct. 19th found us so crowded, five hundred men were sent to Meridian, Miss. On arriving there we found quite a number. Two huts full and men lying around on the ground outside, glad to get any kind of cover, or wood to burn to keep warm. Three or four tunnels were dug one dark stormy night, and thirty-one escaped. Some were drowned, others brought back badly used up by blood hounds. I learned that none got to our lines.

I cannot remember all the dates, but sometime in November we embarked for Cahaba again; too crowded at Meridian, we were told. I guess a Yankee

raid from Memphis was the cause. Arriving at Cahaba we found the main building full, and at night men were lying around so thick one could hardly get about; nearly two thousand prisoners.

Dec. 31st there came to us from Uncle Sam a lot of clothing, and it was a blessing. As a sample, I had only a pair of pants and a shirt with strings above and below my knees to keep my pants on; shirt had no sleeves, and many mornings ice was found. We got one blanket, one blouse, one pair of shoes, one cap, two pair of socks. I had my blanket but one night, when it was stolen. It was worth fifty dollars Confederate money. A regular gang of sneak thieves, part Yankees, part Rebels, stole everything found loose. A blouse sold for ten dollars, an officer's button one dollar, a private's fifty cents, and other things in proportion in Confederate money. Our boys would give them from five to seven dollars for one in greenbacks or gold and at the end fifty for one. The Rebs as a rule had no use for greenbacks, although the officers bought them in as well as Yankees, and those in the deal made quite a small fortune.

I never heard of any account being kept as to how many died. Every day men were taken out to the Hospital, and often details or volunteers were called for nurses. Men would get homesick, or sick from exposure and give up. A committee of twelve men was appointed to act as a vigilant [sic] committee to look after such men, also to punish mismemeanors [sic]. All the burial the dead received was a shallow hole, and covered up, no coffin, no blanket; too much expense. The death list must have been large, as I seldom met any of those again that were carried to the Hospital; and many a poor fellow fell on the dead lines. They would shoot, it seemed, just to say: "I killed a D—— Yankee," and brag about it.

On the night of the 18th of January some of the boys took a notion to leave. They accordingly took all the guns from the inside guards and were fast preparing to quit the prison when the plot was discovered, and for a while one would naturally think he was in bedlam. The Rebels ran up two pieces of artillery to the door of the prison and the guards who came up did a great deal of threatening until the guns were returned and quiet restored. For this performance, we had to starve until the ring leaders were discovered and they had a fine time finding them out. One of them, the guard claimed he bayoneted; the other was Adj't of an Ohio Regiment and usually wore long black hair and heavy moustache. To find the men they wanted, every man in the prison had to strip naked, and pass through an open door

out into the yard in presence of the surgeon and fifteen or twenty persons, stop, turn once around in going out. They counted us off in Companies of a hundred, two or three times and found all present and accounted for. Kept us standing as we came out and searched the prison. It was cold business. But they could not find the men and gave it up. The man who was wounded stuck dough in the hole, and he and his pard slapped each other with muddy hands, covering the wound. The Adj't shaved his head and face clean, and was so changed his own mess did not recognize him, and drove him away until he explained. No rations until those men surrendered was the order. After three or four days the leaders, against the wishes of the others, gave themselves up, and were put in the county jail.

On the 28th of February the Alabama river had risen so high that it came into the prison three feet deep, and for six days we had to wade in water over a foot deep, during a portion of that time with nothing but raw meal and raw bacon to eat. March 8th we boarded a steamboat and started for God's country, via Mobile. Arriving at the mouth of the Tombigbee River to Gainesville, Miss., [we] marched across country to Mobile and Ohio R'y; boarded cars for Meridian, thence to Jackson, Miss., thence to Vicksburg, arriving March 16th and camped four miles out, in command of Col. H. A. M. Henderson commissioner of exchange for the C. S. A. with a company of Georgia Infantry guarding us (Col. Henderson was a gentleman), and the U. S. Sanitary Commission furnishing the rations. The morning of April 18 the guards and officers shipped [us] by rail across Black River. Here we were told of the assassination of President Lincoln. It was a grand idea getting the Rebels away before telling, or they would have been *got* away with. April 23, embarked on the steamer Henry Ames for St. Louis. Arrived at St. Louis May 1st. From there to Davenport, Iowa; from there to Clinton, Iowa, where June 14, 1865, I was discharged, by a misunderstanding of General Orders from the War Department in regards to prisoners of war.

The End.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 149 new members during the months of July, August, and September, 1958. Life Members added during these months were: Louis M. Knott, Cedar Rapids; Mrs. Huxley Miller, Durant; Fred J. Poyn-
eer, Cedar Rapids; Mrs. Inez Snider, Fairfield; Mrs. Loren G. Thomas, Des
Moines; Mrs. Eloise P. Gilchrist, Davenport; Charles Ainsworth, Moline,
Illinois; Isaac Fricks Iowa City; Ralph Newman, Chicago, Illinois; and
David D. Nicholson, Iowa City.

A biography of Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, Congressman and Senator
from Iowa (1889-1910) was mailed to members of the Society during Octo-
ber. The author, Thomas Richard Ross, professor and dean of Davis and
Elkins College in West Virginia, has done an outstanding piece of research
in writing this biography of one of Iowa's greatest statesmen.

The Society is compiling data on state and local — including county —
historical societies for inclusion in a national reference guide to historical
societies. To complete this work, the Society is asking officers of the local
historical societies in Iowa to supply the following information:

1. Exact name of the society.
2. Names of the officers.
3. Total number of members.
4. Membership fee.
5. Number of meetings per year.
6. Meeting place.
7. Activities.
8. Any other pertinent information.

Governor Herschel C. Loveless has appointed the following nine persons
to two-year terms on the Board of Curators: Mrs. Ruth Hollingshead,
Albia; Professor William D. Houlette of Drake University, Des Moines;
Mrs. Otha Wearin of Hastings; Dr. Eugene Garbee, president of Upper
Iowa University at Fayette; Dale Ahern, editor of the *Decorah Journal* at

Decorah; Mrs. Martha Brunk, Des Moines; W. W. Waymack, Adel; Dr. F. V. Maytum, Spirit Lake; and Jesse E. Marshall, Sioux City.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

- August 17-20 Attended annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Salt Lake City.
- September 12 Television interview on northwestern Iowa history over Station KTIV-TV, Sioux City.
- September 16 Read paper before annual meeting of the Mississippi River Parkway Association at Itasca State Park in Minnesota. Elected historian of the Association at this meeting.
- September 21 Interview over radio station KSCJ, Sioux City, on work of the State Historical Society of Iowa in northwestern Iowa.
- September 28 Spoke informally to superintendents of city schools in Des Moines.

Iowa Historical Activities

Roy and Lillian Nelson have given their farm in Mahaska County to the Mahaska County Historical Society. The 105-year-old brick house on the farm will be used as headquarters for the Society and as a museum. The farm is located on the Glendale road, just two miles northeast of Oskaloosa, and has been in the Nelson family since 1847.

The Wayne County Historical Society has acquired a "Little Red Schoolhouse" near Lineville which will be used as a museum. Officers re-elected at the July meeting of the Society were Miss Amy Robertson, president; Mrs. Richard McIntire, vice-president; Harry Hibbs, treasurer; Miss Altha Green, secretary; and Roy Grimes, curator.

The Guthrie County Historical Society, at its August 10 meeting, accepted the Simmons rural schoolhouse, located four miles west of Guthrie Center on highway 64, to be maintained as a memorial to the country schoolhouses of earlier days. The building and most of its equipment was a gift from the Guthrie Center School Board. The fair board has donated a plot of ground at the fairgrounds, to which the building will be moved.

The Dubuque County Historical Society has reorganized with the following officers: Mrs. Abby McDonald Dancer, president; Dr. Donald Conzett, vice-president; Hildegard Stoltben, secretary; and Elsie Datisman, historian and curator.

The first annual meeting of the Cedar County Historical Society was held in Tipton August 3. William J. Petersen, Superintendent of the State Historical Society, addressed the gathering on "How to Arouse Greater Interest in Cedar County History."

The Calhoun County Historical Society adopted a constitution at a meeting in Rockwell City on September 16. Mrs. Ruth Ridge, publicity chairman, announced that charter members would be signed up at a meeting on October 21.

The Grinnell Historical Museum Society has received articles of incorporation, and a twelve-member board of trustees has been appointed. The object of the Society is to promote and encourage the study of the history of the city of Grinnell and surrounding areas; to gather articles of historical interest and importance, and to preserve them; to establish and maintain a museum for Grinnell; and to receive contributions for the advancement of the purposes of the corporation.

The James Harlan home in Mount Pleasant, the property of Iowa Wesleyan College, is being restored by the College. Harlan, United States Senator from Iowa from 1855 to 1873, once served as president of the College. The white frame house also served as a part-time residence for Robert Todd Lincoln, the son of Abraham Lincoln, who married Harlan's daughter in 1869. Mrs. Robert Todd Lincoln deeded the home to Iowa Wesleyan College in 1907.

The centennial of Hamburg was celebrated on September 12 and 13, 1958, with parades, historical pageants, and antique displays.

INDEX

Note — The names of contributors of articles in the *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY* are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.

- Abolitionism, articles on, 93, 192; Mahony on, 292, 293, 304, 313; Peace Democrats oppose, 289.
- Abrahams, J. F., and railroads, 141, 151.
- Adams, R. S., and railroads, 151.
- Adams and French binder, 17.
- Adams County Hist. Soc., 282.
- Agency City, and plank roads, 137.
- Agricultural Societies, reports of, as historical source, 3-4.
- Agriculture, articles on, 93, 192, 285; in Hamilton County, 1-36; implements of, 15-16.
- Ahern, Dale, 365.
- Ainsworth, Charles, 365.
- Alabama, 12th Iowa in, 340-45.
- Aldrich, Charles, and Des Moines River lands, 127; as editor, 6-14; as farmer, 23.
- Allison, William B., as congressional candidate, 305; 1862 election of, 305, 312; Mahony arrest and, 303; Platt Smith and, 119; Wilson appointment and, 79, 83, 86, 88.
- American Revolution, articles on, 190.
- Amond, Mrs. John, 283.
- Andrews, H. R., Co. B, 12th Iowa, 360.
- Antes, C. W., 288.
- Anti-Abolition States Rights Assn., 312.
- Antislavery, Iowa politics and, 197-8.
- Architecture, articles on, 93.
- Arkansas, 12th Iowa in, 264-7.
- Armstrong, John, and railroads, 141.
- Army of the Potomac, Iowa regiments in, 51.
- Army of the Tennessee, Army Corps in, 245n, 16th Corps of, at Nashville, 324-31; 12th Iowa in, 211; at Vicksburg, 230-33.
- Army of West Virginia (8th Army Corps), 51n, 56.
- Art, articles on, 93.
- Arthur, A. D., Hamilton County farmer, 24-5, 26, 30.
- Asboth, Gen. Alexander, 238, 239.
- Ashland, and plank roads, 137.
- Atchafalaya River, 22nd Iowa crosses, 49-50.
- Aviation, articles on, 190.
- Ayers, Lyman, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 181, 224, 272, 325.
- Bailey, Edwin H., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 179, 325.
- Bailey, Henry W., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 253.
- Baker, Nathaniel B., Adj. Gen. of Iowa, 161, 215, 224, 232.
- Bales, Mrs. Vern, 281.
- Ballou, V. A., editor, Webster City *Freeman*, 6, 9.
- Banks, Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P., 37, 38, 251n, 271; Red River expedition of, 46-50.
- Barewald, Ina, 91.
- Barr, Thomas, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 325.
- Bassett, G. W., 123.
- Baton Rouge, 22nd Iowa at, 50-51.
- Baylies, Nicholas, and Des Moines River lands, 113.
- Bearry, John H., 70-71.
- Belknap, W. W., 100.
- Bell, John, 132.
- Benton Barracks (St. Louis), 12th Iowa at, 163-7, 220-24, 273-4.
- Bibliography, articles on, 93.
- "Bibliography of Articles in Midwestern Historical Journals," 93-6, 190-92, 285-8.
- Biematzki, Charles, 25.
- Bigelow, Mildred, 91.
- Billington, Ray A., 189.
- Biography, articles on, 94.
- Black Hawk County Early Settlers Assn., 283.

- Black Hawk War, articles on, 190.
 Blair, Gen. Frank P., 221, 226, 232.
 Blanchard, Allen M., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 208; capture of, 212; release of, 222; reminiscences of, as prisoner, 347-55.
 Blood, Alvaro C., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 208.
 Bloomfield, and railroads, 141.
 Blunt, Gen. James G., 270.
 Blythe, J. W., 78.
 Boak, W. W., Hamilton County farmer, 29-30, 31.
 BOECK, GEORGE A., "A Decade of Transportation Fever in Burlington, Iowa, 1845-1855," 129-52.
 BOGUE, ALLAN G., "Pioneer Farmers and Innovation," 1-36.
 Bonneville, Col. Benjamin L. E., 220-21.
 Boughton, Judson L., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 245, 326; death of, 334.
 Bourne, Chaplain William Oland, 70.
 Boyce, Nick, 22nd Iowa, 63, 68.
 Brayton, Howard, 281.
 Brazill, John T., 320.
 Breen, Ed., 283.
 Bremner, Capt. John, Co. F, 12th Iowa, 245, 345.
 Brennan, Patrick, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 158, 218, 330.
 Briggs, Ansel, 194.
 Brighton, and plank roads, 137.
 Brighton and Richland Plank Road Co., 139.
 Brinton, M. H., Hamilton County farmer, 28.
 Brooks, John W., 149, 150.
 Brown, John, 55.
 Brown, T. Y., Hamilton County farmer, 22.
 Browne, John, railroad lobbyist, 119.
 Browning, M. D., and railroads, 149, 151.
 Browning, O. H., Secretary of the Interior, 126.
 Brunk, Gregory, 188.
 Brunk, Mrs. Martha, 188, 366.
 Brussels World's Fair, carved wooden eagle at, 189.
 Bryan, William Jennings, 94.
 Buckner, Brig. Gen. Simon B., 174.
 Buell, Maj. Gen. Don Carlos, 185.
 Bumgardner, Samuel, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 183, 254, 336.
 Bunn, Andrew J., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 208; court martial of, 325; cowardice of, 212.
 Burch, J. W., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 218, 224, 256, 334.
 Burke, John A., 22nd Iowa, 46.
 Burlington, Burlington & Missouri River RR and, 146-51; business of, 130; Flint Hills original name of, 129; imports and exports, 132; Keokuk and, 131; leaders of plank and railroad movements in, 151-2; loans to railroads of, 142, 143-4, 148, 149, 150-51; lobbies for railroads, 146; and Mississippi River Rapids, 131, 132; Peoria & Oquawka RR to, 142, 143, 144, 145; plank roads and, 132-40; population of, 130, 131; railroads and, 136, 140-50; settlement of, 130.
 "Burlington, Iowa, 1845-1855, A Decade of Transportation Fever in," by GEORGE A. BOECK, 129-52.
 Burlington and Louisa County Plank Road Co., 138.
 Burlington & Missouri River RR Co., Burlington and, 146-50.
 Burlington and Mount Pleasant Plank Road Co., 134.
 Burlington and Toolesboro Plank Road Co., 138.
 Burlington and Warren Plank Road Co., 138, 139.
 "Burlington Editor Comments on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858," 275-80.
 Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Lincoln-Douglas debates in, 275-80.
 Burr, Joseph F., Hamilton County farmer, 22.
 Business, pioneer, articles on, 287.
 Bussey, Col. Cyrus, 306.
 Butler, Frank W., 22nd Iowa, 43.
 Butler County Hist. Soc., 91, 283.
 Butterfield Mail, article on, 285.
 Buttolph, Edwin A., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 153, 220, 230, 335n; capture of, 253; reminiscences of, as prisoner, 356-64.
 Byington, LeGrand, 314, 315.
 Cahaba (Ala.), Confederate prison at, 361-4.
 Calder, Edward W., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 157, 160n, 173, 212.

- Caldwell, Mrs. Clark R., 188.
 Calhoun, John C., 132.
 Calhoun County Hist. Soc., 367.
 Cameron, Simon, 298.
 Camp Union (Dubuque), 12th Iowa at, 158-63.
 Campaign of 1896, p. 78.
 Campbell, Capt. Marion, 8th Iowa, 346.
 Canby, Maj. Gen. Edward W. S., 337, 339, 340.
 Carpenter, A. W., and plank roads, 133, 138; and railroads, 143, 151.
 Carpenter, C. C., 100; as Register of Land Office, 107-108, 125.
 Carpenter, Hiram, Hamilton County farmer, 29, 31.
 Carr, Elmer, 188.
 Catholics, Mahony and, 317, 318; slavery and, 299-300.
 Cattell, Jonathan W., 198.
 Cedar County Hist. Soc., 91, 283, 367.
 Cedar Creek battle, Sheridan and, 65, 67.
 Cedar Rapids & Missouri River RR, Crocker and, 119; and Des Moines River lands, 105-107, 108, 109-110, 117, 120, 122-3.
 Census, as historical source, 3.
 Centerville, and railroads, 141; Railway Museum at, 188.
 Central Military Tract RR, 144, 149.
 Central Park Hospital (New York City), Switzer at, 69-73.
 Chase, Salmon P., 305.
 Chautauqua, articles on, 190.
 Cheatham, Gen. Benjamin F., 328n.
 Chickasaw County Hist. Soc., 91.
 Chipman, Col. N. P., 344n.
 Civil War, articles on, 94, 190, 285; Soper's history of, 153-87, 207-274, 321-64; Switzer's Reminiscences of, 37-76; types of source material for, 153.
 Clark, Charles W., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 325.
 Clark, Isaac G., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 181, 213.
 Clark, John, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 181, 326, 334.
 Clark, John M., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 160n.
 Clark, Lincoln, election of, 204-205; nominated for Congress, 196-7.
 Clarke, James, and plank roads, 136, 137; and railroads, 141, 151.
 Clarke, William Penn, Free Soil candidate, 198, 204.
 Clarkson, Coker F., and Wilson appointment, 82.
 Clarkson, Richard P., and Wilson appointment, 79-83.
 Clay, Henry, and Compromise of 1850, pp. 193, 194, 196, 202, 203.
 Clement, Jesse, opposes Mahony, 294.
 Cobb, W. R. W., 147.
 Cole, Cyrenus, and Wilson appointment, 81-3.
 Cole, John D., Co. B, 12th Iowa, 213.
 Collins, Stephen P., Co. K, 12th Iowa, 343.
 Communal societies, articles on, 285.
 Company "Q," foragers, 264.
 Compromise of 1850, Henry Clay and, 193, 194, 196, 202, 203; Stephen A. Douglas and, 193; Iowa Democrats and, 194, 199-200, 206; and Iowa politics, 193-206; Iowa Senators support, 201; Iowa Whigs and, 195-6.
 "Compromise of 1850, Iowa Politics and the," by MORTON M. ROSENBERG, 193-206.
 Conger, John D., Co. A, 12th Iowa, 245.
 Conger, P. H., 301.
 Conley, Dennis, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 247, 253.
 Conley, Dennis L., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 247.
 Constitution, United States, Mahony on, 297, 298, 299, 304, 313, 317.
 Constitutional history, articles on, 190.
 Contrabands (slaves), in Civil War, 229.
 Conzett, Dr. Donald, 367.
 Cook, Isaac, 195.
 Cook, Col. John, 7th Ill., 168.
 Cook, Lyman, and railroads, 143, 151.
 Cook, Thomas Z., recruits for 12th Iowa, 155.
 Coolbaugh, William F., 296; and plank roads, 135, 136, 137, 139; and railroads, 141, 143, 151.
 Copp, J., and railroads, 151.
 "Copperheads." See Peace Democrats.
 Corinth (Miss.), battle of, 211-13, 347; evacuation of, 210; Union troops evacuate, 245.

- Corse, J. L., and plank roads, 136, 137; and railroads, 141, 143, 151.
- Coulter, Lt. Col. John P., 12th Iowa, 210, 227.
- County histories, as historical sources, 3.
- County records, as historical sources, 3.
- Cowell, James L., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 208, 253, 325.
- Cox, Samuel, 312.
- Coyner, Jasper, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 166.
- Creel, Robert, 189.
- Crocker, C. C., and railroads, 119.
- Crocker, T. D., and plank roads, 138; and railroads, 151.
- Crook, Maj. Gen. George, 51.
- Cummins, Albert B., and Wilson appointment, 78-83, 85-6, 88.
- Curtis, Samuel R., in Civil War, 270; on Navigation Company, 99-100.
- Dancer, Mrs. Abby McDonald, 367.
- Dannelly's Mills (Ala.), 338n.
- Datisman, Elsie, 367.
- Daughters of the American Revolution, gift of, to State Hist. Soc., 188; mark Dubuque cabin, 282.
- Davenport, and railroads, 141-2, 145, 146.
- David, John, and railroads, 143.
- Davies, Gen. J. A., 211.
- Davis, Capt. D. J., 22nd Iowa, 62.
- Dayton, John H., 198, 204-205.
- "Decade of Transportation Fever in Burlington, Iowa, 1845-1855," by GEORGE A. BOECK, 129-52.
- Deedsville, and plank roads, 139.
- Deering binders, 17.
- Democratic party in Iowa, Compromise of 1850 and, 194, 199-200, 206; congressional nominations, 196-7, 198-9; "Copperheads" and, 289; 1850 platform of, 194; 1850 victory of, 204-205; 1861 conventions of, 295, 296; in 1863 election, 314-19; and Fugitive Slave Act, 200-201; Hempstead nominated by, 194-5; on internal improvements, 194; Mahony and, 292-3, 298-9, 311, 319; "Peace" Democrats in, 289; "War" and "Peace" factions in, 294. *See also*, Peace Democrats and War Democrats.
- Democratic Union Assn., 313.
- Department of the Gulf, 22nd Iowa in, 37.
- Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company, 21, 99; attacks on, 108-109; Curtis on, 99-100; land grant and, 99, 100-101; Litchfield and, 103, 119; state settlement with, 100-101, 121; Walcott and, 123-4.
- Des Moines River Improvement land grant, acres claimed by railroads, 105-107; acres in, 100, 103-104, 105-107, 115; Board of Public Works and, 99; Congress gives Iowa title to, 104-105; congressional legislation settles, 128; and Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company, 99, 100-101; efforts to divert to railroads, 101, 102; 1846 land grant for, 97; interpretations of extent of, 97-8; Iowa Democrats and, 194, 197; Keokuk, Ft. Des Moines & Minnesota RR and, 101, 104; lands sold, 98, 103, 115; law suits for, 103; legislative action and, 108-125; lobbyists and, 117-20; Nourse on, 113-14; railroads want, 100, 103; settlers' titles to, 121-8; Supreme Court decision on, 103, 115.
- "Des Moines River Improvement Land Grant of 1846, Iowa Railroads and," by LEONARD F. RALSTON, 97-128.
- District of Cairo (U. S. Grant commanding), 12th Iowa in, 168n.
- Dixon, Jacob W., on railroad land grants, 109.
- Dodge, Augustus Caesar, 132; Compromise of 1850 and, 201-202; and railroads, 143, 151.
- Dodge, Brig. Gen. G. M., 118; in 16th Army Corps, 245n.
- Dodgeville, and plank roads, 138.
- Doleshall, Wentzel, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 53, 272.
- Dolliver, Jonathan P., biography of, 365.
- Donaldson, Brig. Gen. James L., 328n.
- Dorr, J. B., Mahony and, 290-91, 295; mortgage of, 306.
- Dorr, Joseph B., 12th Iowa, 217, 218, 219.
- Douglas, Stephen A., and Compromise of 1850, p. 193; debates with Lincoln, 275-80; speaks in Iowa, 278-9.
- Draft, Mahony on, 300, 317.
- Drake, Francis M., 79.

- Dubuque, Camp Union at, 158-63; Democrats in, 298-9; Keokuk railroad and, 132, 140, 145, 146; log cabin marked at, 282; Mahony release celebrated at, 308; secession and, 310.
- Dubuque & Pacific *vs.* Litchfield, land grant suit, 103, 115, 124.
- Dubuque & Pacific RR (also Dubuque & Sioux City RR), Carpenter on, 107; and Des Moines River lands, 101, 103, 105-107, 109, 117; legislation on, 110, 111, 112, 121; Platt Smith and, 102, 103, 107, 110-11, 119-20.
- Dubuque & Sioux City RR. *See* Dubuque & Pacific RR.
- Dubuque County Hist. Soc., 283, 367.
- Dubuque *Herald*, comment on, 320; a Copperhead organ, 289; Hutchins and, 302-318 *passim*; Mahony and, 289-320 *passim*; Mahony retires from, 318; mortgage on, 306; plans to sell, 306, 311-12; on recruiting, 300.
- "Dubuque *Herald*, Dennis Mahony and, 1860-1863," by HUBERT H. WUBBEN, 289-320.
- Dubuque *North-West*, Hutchins buys, 306.
- Dubuque *Times*, opposes Mahony, 293, 294, 298, 299, 308, 317.
- Duncan, Adj. Nathaniel E., 227.
- Duncombe, John F., on railroad land grants, 109.
- Dunham, Mrs. A. M., 282.
- Dunham, Lt. Abner, Co. F, 12th Iowa, 343.
- Dunham, Clark, on Lincoln-Douglas debates, 275-80.
- Durant, Dr. T. C., 119.
- Eagle ("Old Abe") of 8th Wisc. Inf., 335n.
- Earle, Capt. Willard C., Co. B, 12th Iowa, 227.
- Early, Gen. Jubal A., 51, 52-3n, 54, 55, 56.
- Edgington, Capt. Samuel R., Co. A, 12th Iowa, 181; promoted Lt. Col., 227; promoted Major, 225.
- Edmunds, J. W., Commissioner of General Land Office, 104.
- Edson, Mrs. Leota, 91.
- Education, articles on, 94, 285.
- Edwards, James G., 132; and plank roads, 136; and railroads, 141, 151.
- Eighth Army Corps, 51n, 56.
- Eighth Iowa Cavalry, 328n.
- Eighth Iowa Infantry, 178, 180, 181, 208, 221, 226, 234, 237, 244, 247, 340.
- Eighth Wisconsin Infantry, 335, 345; as "Eagle" Regiment, 335n.
- Electricity, articles on, 285.
- Eleventh Iowa Infantry, 228.
- Eleventh Missouri Infantry, 335, 345.
- Eleventh Wisconsin Infantry, 37n, 338.
- Elijah, Mrs. Earl, 91.
- Elwell, John, Co. E, 12th Iowa, 217.
- Elwell, Mary, 284.
- Ely, Maj. John J., 328n.
- Emancipation, Mahony opposes, 304, 310.
- Emmetsburg, centennial, 91.
- Emory, Maj. Gen. William H., 51n.
- Enfield rifles, 12th Iowa, 166.
- Estes, L. L., 13; Hamilton County farmer, 26, 30.
- Evans, Evan, and railroads, 141, 151.
- Evans, Mrs. Gomer, 91, 283.
- Ewing, Thomas, and Des Moines River land grant, 98, 194, 197.
- Ewing, William, 132; and railroads, 141, 143.
- Fairfield, and plank roads, 137, 138.
- Fairfield and Mount Pleasant Plank Road Co., 138.
- "Farmers, Pioneer, and Innovation," by ALLAN G. BOGUE, 1-36.
- Farmers, stages of accepting new ideas, 1-2.
- Farming methods, changes in, 1-2.
- Felt, J. A., 11-12.
- Fenerabend, Charles, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 223.
- Fenton, Charles, Hamilton County farmer, 25.
- Ferguson, Jason D., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 169; as drill master, 160; elected 1st Lt., 156; killed at Shiloh, 181, 183-4.
- Ferner, James D., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 331.
- Fifteenth Army Corps, 225, 226, 234, 240, 244, 251.
- Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, 228.
- Fifth Iowa Cavalry, 328n.
- Fifth Minnesota Infantry, 335, 345.
- Finch, D. O., 119.

- First Iowa Infantry, 154, 160.
 Fisher, Maturin L., 1861 nomination of, 295; declines 1863 nomination, 315.
 Flags, articles on, 191.
 Fletcher, J. C., and railroads, 151.
 Flint, Sam, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 259, 339.
 Flint Hills. *See* Burlington.
 Floyd, Gen. John B., 174.
 Foote, J. G., and plank roads, 133, 136, 137; and railroads, 144-5, 151.
 Foreign-born farmers, in Hamilton County, 32-5.
 Forestry, articles on, 94.
 Forrest, Gen. Nathan B., 357, 358; at Fort Donelson, 174; at Guntown, 252n; Memphis raid of, 261; at Nashville, 328n; pursuit of, 248-63; raids of, 215; at Tupelo, 257n, 321.
 Fort Atkinson State Park, 189.
 Fort Blakely (Mobile), capture of, 339-40.
 Fort Des Moines, and plank roads, 136.
 Fort Donelson, 12th Iowa at, 170-74.
 Fort Henry, 12th Iowa at, 168-9.
 Forts, articles on, 191.
 Forty-seventh Illinois Infantry, 335.
Four Acts of Despotism, by Dennis Mahony, 313, 317.
 Fourteenth Iowa Infantry, 176, 178, 180, 181, 208, 221, 269, 271.
 Fourth Army Corps, at Huntsville, 334; at Nashville, 328, 329.
 Fourth Iowa Cavalry, 233.
 Fowler, Capt. J. B., 12th Iowa, 209.
 Fox, Mrs. Stella, 282.
 Fraikes, William, 5.
 Frankforter, W. D., 91-2.
 Franklin, battle of, 327, 329n, 332.
 Frazee, George, and railroads, 151.
 Frederick (Maryland), Civil War hospital at, 68-9.
 Free silver, 78.
 Free Soil party in Iowa, in 1850 campaign, 197-8, 205-206.
 Freeport Doctrine, 275, 278.
 Frees, Andrew J., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 272.
 Fremont, Gen. John C., 163, 297.
 Frick, Mrs., at Civil War hospital, 65.
 Fricks, Isaac, 365.
 Frontier, articles on, 94.
 Frymoyer, Curtis, 91.
 Fugitive Slave Act, Iowa Democrats and, 200, 201.
 Fuller, Lt. Arison T., Co. K, 12th Iowa, 251, 326, 343.
 Funk, J. Adam, and plank roads, 135; and railroads, 151.
 Furniture, articles on, 285.
 Galena Hist. Soc. of Illinois, 283.
 Gallagher, James, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 264, 325.
 Garbee, Dr. Eugene, 365.
 Garrard, Brig. Gen. Kenner, 340.
 Gay, E. E., and railroads, 151.
 Gear, John H., 79.
 Geddes, Col. James L., 8th Iowa, 236, 237, 241, 249.
 Gerber, Miss Jean, 91.
 Germans, articles on, 94.
 Gersonsin, Mrs. Nora, 282.
 Giger, H. P., 283.
 Gilchrist, Mrs. Eloise P., 365.
 Gilchrist, Wm. B., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 208.
 Government, articles on, 94.
 Grange, in Hamilton County, 10, 14-15, 31.
 Granger, Maj. Gen. Gordon, 337n, 340.
 Grannis, Henry J., Co. C, 12th Iowa, 271.
 Grant, James, 124.
 Grant, U. S., 38, 54, 211n; captures Fort Donelson, 174; commands District of Cairo, 168n.
 Grass, Harman, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 253, 356, 357.
 Gray, G. W., 303.
Gray Eagle (steamboat), wood carving from, 189.
 Greeley, Horace, attacks Mahony, 309-310; Mahony supports, 319.
 Green, Miss Altha, 366.
 Green, H. L., 283.
 Greenback party, 319.
 Grierson, Gen. Benjamin H., 261, 265, 341.
 Grimes, James W., Mahony and, 302, 305, 312; plank roads and, 136, 137, 138, 139; railroads and, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 149, 151.
 Grimes, Roy, 91, 366.
 Grinnell Hist. Museum Society, 367.
 Groat Historical Museum, 283.
 Grover, Brig. Gen. Cuvier, 53n.
 Guntown (Miss.), battle of, 252n.

- Guthrie County Hist. Soc., 366.
- Hackleman, Brig. Gen. Pleasant A., 210, 211.
- Hagendobler, John, 156.
- Hager, Levi, and railroads, 141, 151.
- Haines, Mary, 68.
- Hale, Hiel, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 157, 159, 223; elected 2nd Lt., 156; promoted to Capt., 227, 232; receives new sword, 224; resignation, 246.
- Hall, J. C., and plank roads, 133; and railroads, 149, 151.
- Halleck, Maj. Gen. Henry W., promotion of, 211n; at St. Louis, 164.
- Hamburg, centennial of, 367.
- Hamilton, W. W., as railroad lobbyist, 119.
- Hamilton County, agricultural implements in, 15-17; Agricultural Society in, 5, 14; businessmen-farmers in, 26-7; cheese-making in, 21, 22; crops in, 4, 7-8, 18; farm size in, 4, 31-2, 35; farmers' clubs in, 10; foreign-born in, 32-5; fruit-growing in, 4, 9; Granges in, 10, 14-15, 31; leading farmers in, 5, 11-12, 13, 18, 21-30; livestock in, 4-5, 7-8, 13, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24-5, 26-7, 34-5; native-born farmers in, 32-5; newspapers editors in, 6-14; plant and animal diseases in, 10-11; population of, 4; price and marketing system in, 17-18; progressive farming in, 11-14; settlement of, 4; stock dealing in, 24-7; study of farming in, 1-36.
- Hammer's Patent Mole Ditcher, 16.
- Hanna, Mark, 79.
- Haradon, Henry, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 166.
- Hardee, Maj. Gen. Wm. J., 181.
- Harlan, James, declines gubernatorial nomination, 195; opposes Mahony, 312.
- Harlan, James, Home, restored, 367.
- Harris, Mrs., at Civil War hospital, 66.
- Harris, Col. Charles L., 37n.
- Harrison, William Henry, 78.
- Hart, Mathew, 188.
- Hart, Norman H., 127.
- Harvey, J. A., Register of State Land Office, 115.
- Hatch, Brig. Gen. Edward, 332.
- Healey, Capt. R. W., 58th Ill., 209.
- Hedge, Thomas, and railroads, 143, 151.
- Heise, Dr. Carl A., 89.
- "Hell's Hollow," at Shiloh, 180.
- Hempstead, Stephen, 1850 nomination of, 194-5; election of, 204, 205; railroads and, 147.
- Hendershott, David, and plank roads, 133.
- Henderson, Lt. David B., Co. C, 12th Iowa, 221.
- Henderson, Col. H. A. M., 364.
- Henderson, William H., 196, 204-205.
- Henn, Bernhart, election of, 204; nominated for Congress, 196; railroads and, 147.
- Henry, J. F., and plank roads, 133; and railroads, 141, 151.
- Hexter, Jack H., 189.
- Hibbs, Harry, 366.
- Highway markers, articles on, 286.
- Hill, Archibald, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 259, 260.
- Hill, Benjamin J., Co. E, 12th Iowa, 218.
- Hill, Col. Sylvester, 35th Iowa, 269, 323; death of, 329.
- Hilton, Robert W., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 160n; appointed Orderly Sergt., 156.
- Historian, and sociological methods, 2-3.
- "Historical Activities," 89-92, 188-9, 281-4, 366-8.
- Historical collecting, articles on, 94.
- Historical markers, articles on, 191.
- "Historical Publications," 93-6, 190-92, 285-8.
- History, articles on, 286.
- Hodnett, John, 319.
- Hollingshead, Mrs. Ruth, 365.
- Hollingsworth, John, and railroads, 141.
- Holly Springs, 12th Iowa at, 259-61, 262-3.
- Hood, Gen. John B., at Nashville, 321, 324, 327, 328n; pursuit of, 331-3.
- Hook, William, 11.
- "Hornet's Nest," at Shiloh, 180.
- Houghton, Mrs. Dorothy, 89.
- Houlette, William D., 365.
- Hovey, Graham, 189.
- Howard, W. B., 17.
- Howe, Samuel A., 198.
- Howell, William, plow of, 16.
- Hoxie, Herbert M., arrests Mahony, 301, 302; as railroad lobbyist, 118-19.
- Hubbard, Col. Lucius F., 251, 335.

- Hubbart, Henry, quoted, 290.
Hudson, Silas A., and plank roads, 135; and railroads, 151.
Huebsch, Dorothy, 284.
Huff, Surgeon Sandford W., 12th Iowa, 263.
Hufford, W. H., 283.
Hughes, Bishop John, Mahony and, 311.
Hughes, Joshua B., 22nd Iowa, 40, 67, 68.
Hull, John A., 127.
Hull, John A. T., and Wilson appointment, 79-83, 85-6, 88.
Humphrey, Chaplain Frederick, 12th Iowa, 261, 326.
Hundred and Twenty-fourth Illinois Infantry, 338, 340.
Hunter, John D., editor, *Webster City Freeman*, 6-14.
Hurlbut, Maj. Gen. Stephen B., 16th Army Corps, 245n.
Hutchins, Jeremiah F., Co. C, 12th Iowa, 343.
Hutchins, Stilson, and Dubuque *Herald*, 302-318 *passim*; buys *North-West*, 306.
Icarian school preserved, 282.
Indians, articles on, 95, 191.
"Innovation, Pioneer Farmers and," by ALLAN G. BOGUE, 1-36.
Internal improvements, Iowa Democrats and, 194.
International Affairs Conference, 189.
Iowa, 1850 elections in, 193-4, 204-205, 206.
Iowa (battleship), silver service of, 284.
Iowa Board of Public Works, and Des Moines River land grant, 99.
Iowa General Assembly, and Des Moines River lands, 108-125.
"Iowa History, Source Material of," 77-88, 275-80.
"Iowa Politics and the Compromise of 1850," by MORTON M. ROSENBERG, 193-206.
Iowa railroads, land grants to, 101.
"Iowa Railroads and the Des Moines River Improvement Land Grant of 1846," by LEONARD F. RALSTON, 97-128.
Iowa Railway Hist. Museum (Center-ville), 188.
Iowa State College (Ames), 15; centennial of, 188.
Iowa State Teachers College, International Affairs Conference at, 189.
Iowa Wesleyan College, Harlan home at, 367; honorary degree granted by, 281.
Irish, Mahony and, 317, 320; and Peace Democrats, 290.
Iuka, battle of, 211.
Jackson, Andrew, articles on, 191.
Jackson (Miss.), capture of, 229; evacuation of, 237.
Jaques, John L., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 166.
Jay, Evan, 195.
Jenkins, J. W., 100.
Jennings, John, 314.
Jennison, Col. Charles R., 7th Kansas Cavalry, 243n.
Jesup, M. K., 124.
John Warner (steamboat), 12th Iowa on, 175-6.
Johnson, Andrew, 342.
Johnson, Atty. Gen. Reverdy, and Des Moines River land grant, 98.
Johnson, Robinson L., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 219, 260, 272.
Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., 229n, 232; Sherman's pursuit of, 233-8.
Jones, George Wallace, 169n, 299; Compromise of 1850 and, 201-202.
Jones, Capt. H. L., 169n.
Jones, Lt. S. C., 22nd Iowa, 42, 63.
Journalism, articles on, 95, 286.
Joy, James F., 149.
Keokuk, and Burlington, 131; and plank roads, 138; proposed railroad to Dubuque, 132, 140, 145, 146.
Keokuk, Ft. Des Moines & Minnesota RR, and Des Moines River land grant, 101, 104.
Keosauqua, and plank roads, 136; and railroads, 141.
Kilbourne, David W., and Des Moines River land grant, 105; as lobbyist, 117-18, 119, 120.
King, Eli, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 181, 220, 221.
Kirkwood, Samuel J., 296, 306, 310; 1861 election of, 297; and land grants, 108, 111, 112; on Mahony arrest, 308; Mahony letters to, 301-302, 320; and 12th Iowa, 156, 160, 224, 232.

- Kister, Israel, 194.
 Kittle, Capt. G. W., 58th Ill., 209.
 Klement, Frank, quoted, 290.
 Knee, Capt. Samuel G., Co. H, 12th Iowa, 326, 334.
 Knott, Louis M., 365.
 Know-Nothingism, 290.
 Kriechbaum, G. P., and railroads, 151.
- Lambert, John B., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 208.
 Lanagan, James, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 260.
 Land grants in Iowa, to railroads, 101.
 Land speculation, articles on, 286.
 Lauman, Jacob G., as Col. of 2nd Iowa, 173n; and railroads, 151; removed from command, 236n.
 Lawler, Brig. Gen. Michael K., 40, 41.
 Lea, Albert M., describes Burlington, 130.
 Leadership, and farming changes, 2.
 Lee, Capt. Charles N., 22nd Iowa, 67.
 Lee, J. W., 31.
 Lee, John, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 166.
 Lee, Oscar B., 22nd Iowa, 67.
 Lee, Gen. Stephen D., 328n.
 Lee, William L., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 166, 260.
 Leggett, Brig. Gen. Mortimer D., 245.
 Leighton, William, and Des Moines River lands, 105, 117-18.
 Lemberger, Wilson B., 188.
 Letcher, John, 147.
 Levis, James, 188.
 Lewis and Clark Hist. Assn., 92.
 Libertyville, and plank roads, 137.
 Lincoln, Abraham, articles on, 191, 286; Burlington speech of, 279-80; Douglas debates of, 275-80; Mahony opposes, 291, 295, 297-8, 309, 310; Maryland reaction to assassination of, 71-2.
 Lincoln, Mrs. Robert Todd, 367.
 Lincoln-Douglas debates, an Iowa editor comments on, 275-80.
 Litchfield, Edwin C., and Des Moines River land grant, 103, 119, 124.
 Literature, articles on, 95, 286.
 Little, James, Co. K, 12th Iowa, 187.
 Livestock, in Hamilton County, 13, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24-5, 26-7, 34-5.
 Livingston, W. R., 281.
 Lobbyists, and railroads, 117-20, 121.
 Local history, articles on, 95, 191, 286.
 Logan, Gen. John A., 229, 240; commands 15th Army Corps, 245n.
 Loughridge, Wm., 100.
 Louisiana, 22nd Iowa in, 39-41.
 Loveless, Gov. Herschel C., 365.
 Lowe, Enos, and railroads, 143, 151.
 Lowe, Ralph P., and Des Moines River land grant, 101-103, 128.
 Lowell, and plank roads, 139.
 Lucas, Brig. Gen. Thomas J., 337n.
 Luther, John, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 181, 260.
 Lyons & Missouri River RR, 149.
- McArthur, Gen. John, 245, 272, 331, 339, 340.
 McCleary, George W., 1850 nomination of, 194.
 McClelland, Robert, and Des Moines River land grant, 98.
 McClernand, Brig. Gen. John A., 37n, 168n, 173.
 McCrary, George W., and railroad land grants, 109, 113.
 McDowell, C. L., 281.
 McGee, S. E., 22nd Iowa, 68.
 McGregor Hist. Soc., 283-4.
 McIntire, Mrs. Richard, 366.
 McKinley, William, 77, 78, 84; appoints Wilson, 82, 86-8; Iowa support for, 79, 80.
 McMillan, H. G., account of Wilson appointment to Cabinet, 77-88.
 McMillen, Col. Wm. L., 251, 335.
 McPherson, Gen. James B., 239; 17th Army Corps and, 245n.
 McRoberts, Richard D., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n.
 Macy, Seth, Co. A, 12th Iowa, 220.
 Magoun, George, 198.
 Mahaska County Hist. Soc., 366.
 Mahony, Dennis, on abolitionism, 292, 293, 304, 313; on Allison, 305; arrest and imprisonment of, 301-308 *passim*; Catholics and, 317, 318; congressional nomination of, 303-304; on Constitution, 297, 298, 299, 300, 304, 313, 317; death of, 319; as Democratic leader, 289-90, 298-9, 311, 319; and J. B. Dorr, 290-91, 295; on draft, 300, 317; buys Dubuque *Herald*, 290-91; Dubuque opposition to, 294-5; and Dubuque *Telegraph*, 319; opposed by Dubuque *Times*, 293, 294, 298, 299, 308, 317; early career of, 289; editorial

- eulogies of, 319-20; 1862 defeat of, 305-306; in 1863 campaign, 314-19; opposes emancipation, 304, 310; on finances, 300; writes *Four Acts of Despotism*, 313, 317; Greeley and, 309-310, 319; as Greenbacker, 319; and Grimes, 302, 305, 312; and Bishop Hughes, 311; and Iowa Democratic party, 292-3, 295-6; Irish and, 317, 320; Kirkwood and, 301-302, 308-309, 320; on Lincoln, 291, 295, 297-8, 309, 310; loyalty of, 320; on Mason and Slidell, 298; and Charles Mason, 290, 292, 307, 319; offers to raise Irish regiment, 320; as Peace Democrat, 290, 303, 312; on people's right to rebel, 300; Senator Powell and, 312; writes *Prisoner of State*, 311, 312; release of, 308; retires from *Herald*, 318; owns St. Louis paper, 319; on secession, 291-2, 293, 304; as sheriff, 318-19; signs loyalty oath, 307-308; on slavery, 291, 292; and soldier vote, 306; sues for libel, 317-18; called traitor, 299, 309-310; War Democrats oppose, 296.
- "Mahony, Dennis, and the Dubuque *Herald*, 1860-1863," by HUBERT H. WUBBEN, 289-320.
- Maps, articles on, 191.
- Marine boat, description of, 37-8.
- Marmaduke, Gen. John S., 270.
- Marshall, Jesse E., 366.
- Marshall, Col. Wm. R., 7th Minn., 329, 335, 336.
- Marshall County Hist. Soc., 282.
- Mason, Charles, 306; and Des Moines River land grant, 103, 119; Mahony and, 290, 292, 307, 319; nomination declined by, 295, 296-7; and plank roads, 135; and railroads, 143, 144, 151.
- Mason, James, Mahony on, 298.
- Matamoras* (steamboat), 22nd Iowa on, 42.
- Mather, Uel, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 166.
- Matthies, Brig. Gen. Charles L., 15th Army Corps, 225n.
- Maytum, Dr. F. V., 366.
- Medical history, articles on, 95, 191, 286.
- Memphis* (steamboat), 12th Iowa on, 167.
- Memphis (Tenn.), Forrest raids, 261.
- Memphis Convention, Burlington and, 132.
- Mensing, A. L., 91.
- Meredith, E. T., 83.
- Meridian expedition, 245n, 246-7.
- Merritt, Col. Wm. H., defeat of, 297; in 1st Iowa, 156-7; nomination of, 296, 297.
- Mexican War, articles on, 95.
- Michigan Central RR, 149.
- Middletown, and plank roads, 134, 135, 136.
- Military history, articles on, 95.
- Miller, Daniel F., 198, 205.
- Miller, Mrs. Huxley, 365.
- Miller, Brig. Gen. John F., 328n.
- Miller, John T., ditching plow of, 16.
- Miller-Thompson election contest, 198-9.
- Millet, Allen J., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 325.
- Mining, articles on, 287.
- Mississippi & Missouri RR, Des Moines River lands claimed by, 105-107; land grant resumed, 122.
- Mississippi River, Burlington and, 131; influence of, 129; "Lower Rapids" of, 131.
- Missouri, 12th Iowa pursues Price in, 267-74.
- Mitchel, Maj. Gen. O. M., 217.
- Mobile (Ala.), capture of, 336-40; Union troops at, 339.
- Moir, W. J., and land grants, 108, 115.
- Molineux, Col. Edward L., 51.
- Moore, Henry, and railroads, 151.
- Morehead, Homer C., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 181, 232, 326, 328, 334.
- Mormons, articles on, 192.
- Morrison, Sam T., 90.
- Morrissey, Q. M. George H., 12th Iowa, 235.
- Morrow, Joe, 91.
- Moser, Hugh L., 283.
- Mount Pleasant, and plank roads, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141; and railroads, 141.
- Mount Pleasant, Trenton, Deedsville and Brighton Plank Road Co., 139.
- Mower, Gen. J. A., 251, 257, 260, 264, 269.
- "Muggins," game, 260.
- Music, articles on, 287.
- Myers, Oliver, 68-9.
- Myers, Mrs. W. A., 283.

- Nashville, battle of, charge at, 330, 334-6; losses at, 331n; 12th Iowa in, 324-31; Union troops in, 327, 328n, 328-9; weather at, 327n, 332.
- National Democratic Assn., 319.
- Nelson, Roy and Lillian, bequest of, 366.
- New London, and plank roads, 134, 136.
- New Orleans, 12th Iowa at, 337-8; 22nd Iowa at, 38.
- New York regiments, and 22nd Iowa, 52, 56.
- Newman, Ralph, 365.
- Newspapers, as historical source, 3, 5-14.
- Nicholas, John, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 254.
- Nicholson, David D., 365.
- Nineteenth Army Corps, 51n, 56; 22nd Iowa in, 38n.
- Ninth Army Corps, 235.
- Ninth Minnesota Infantry, 335n.
- Nourse, Charles C., and land grants, 113-14.
- Old Capitol Prison (Washington, D. C.), Mahony in, 302.
- Ord, Maj. Gen. E. O. C., 37n.
- Orris, H. S., 31.
- Osceola County Hist. Soc., 282.
- Oskaloosa, and plank roads, 137.
- Osterhaus, Gen. Peter J., 236.
- Ottumwa, and plank roads, 136, 137; and railroads, 141.
- Palmer, Luke, and plank roads, 138; and railroads, 143, 151.
- Pangborn, Howard, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 250, 254, 328, 336.
- Parsons, T. L., and plank roads, 135, 136, 137; and railroads, 151.
- Patrons of Husbandry. *See* Grange.
- Pattie, William, 194.
- Peace Democrats, oppose abolitionism, 289; causes for, 290; and 1861 conventions, 295, 296, 297; Irish and, 290; Mahony and, 290, 303, 312.
- Peasley, F. J. C., and plank roads, 135; and railroads, 143, 151.
- Pemberton, Gen. John C., 232n.
- Pembina* (steamboat), 12th Iowa on, 158.
- Peoria & Oquawka RR, completed to Burlington, 145; Iowa interest in, 136, 137, 141, 142; loans to, 143-4.
- Perry, Oliver Hazard, articles on, 287.
- Petersen, William J., activities of, 90, 91, 188, 281-2, 366, 367; curators' resolution regarding, 89-90; receives honorary degree, 281.
- Photography, articles on, 287.
- Pierce, Franklin, 312.
- Pillow, Gen. Gideon J., 174, 342.
- Pioneer business, articles on, 287.
- "Pioneer Farmers and Innovation," by ALLAN C. BOGUE, 1-36.
- Pioneering, articles on, 287.
- Piper, James H., and Des Moines River land grant, 97-8.
- Pittsburg Landing (Tenn.), 12th Iowa at, 176-7.
- Plank, John, 281.
- Plank roads, Burlington and, 132-40; costs of, 135, 136.
- Playter, Capt. Henry J., Co. H, 12th Iowa, 228.
- Pleasanton, Maj. Gen. Alfred, 270.
- Political history, articles on, 95-6, 192, 287-8.
- Polk, Maj. Gen. Leonidas, 181.
- Pomeroy, Charles, on Des Moines River lands, 108-109.
- Port Hudson, Banks at, 37.
- Postlewait, W. H., and railroads, 151.
- Powell, Senator Lazarus, supports Mahony, 312.
- Poyneer, Fred, Jr., 365.
- Prentiss, Brig. Gen. Benjamin M., at Shiloh, 180, 222-3.
- Prescott, Theodore L., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 208, 325.
- Price, Eliphalet, 296.
- Price, Nathan G., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 262, 339; appointed Ensign, 157; at Nashville, 330; account of Shiloh, 182-7.
- Price, Maj. Gen. Sterling, 210, 211n, 214; 12th Iowa pursues, 263-74.
- Price, Valma V., Co. H, 12th Iowa, 245.
- Prime, Samuel T. K., quoted, 19-20.
- Prisoner of State*, by Dennis Mahony, 311, 312.
- Pryce, Adj. Sam D., 22nd Iowa, 62.
- Quantrill, William C., 270n.
- Radio, articles on, 96.
- Railroads, articles on, 192; Burlington interest in, 136, 140-50; financial aid to, 142-3, 148, 149, 150-51; Keokuk-Du-

- buque line proposed, 132, 140; land grants to, 101, 103, 105-107, 108, 141, 146; lobbying of, 117-20; proposed southern Iowa route, 141; state's efforts to resume grants to, 108-125.
- "Railroads, Iowa, and the Des Moines River Improvement Land Grant of 1846," by LEONARD F. RALSTON, 97-128.
- Railway Museum, at Centerville, 188.
- RALSTON, LEONARD F., "Iowa Railroads and the Des Moines River Improvement Land Grant of 1846," 97-128.
- Rand, E. D., and plank roads, 135, 137; and railroads, 143, 151.
- Ransom, Dr. S. S., and railroads, 141, 143, 151.
- Red River Expedition, 251; 22nd Iowa on, 46-50.
- Reed, Lt. David W., Co. C, 12th Iowa, 326, 328.
- Regional studies, types of source material for, 3-4.
- Reid, Hugh T., 123.
- Religion, articles on, 96, 192.
- "Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa, Part II," ed. by MILDRED THRONE, 37-76.
- Renchin, Frank, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 181, 184.
- Richardson, D. N., 316.
- Ridge, Mrs. Ruth, 367.
- Riegel, C. Leon, 188.
- Riggert, Mrs. Louise, 91, 283.
- Riley, W. H., 12.
- Robb, Patrick, 311.
- Robertson, Miss Amy, 366.
- Roland, Kenneth, 282.
- Rolsten, Nelson, Co. F, 12th Iowa, 187.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 77.
- Rorer, David, and plank roads, 138; and railroads, 141, 142, 143, 151.
- Rose, Judge, Hamilton County farmer, 28.
- Rosecrans, Brig. Gen. W. S., 211n, 239n, 240, 270.
- ROSENBERG, MORTON M., "Iowa Politics and the Compromise of 1850," 193-206.
- Roskopf, Joe, 25.
- Ross, Henry W., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 160n.
- Ross, Huitt, pomologist, 18, 29, 31.
- Ross, Jesse H., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 181.
- Ross, Thomas Richard, writes Dolliver biography, 365.
- Rowan, John W., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 173.
- Rural sociology, 1.
- Russian Revolution, articles on, 96.
- Samuels, Ben, 296.
- Sanford Museum, conducts tour, 91-2.
- Sanitary Commission, articles on, 288.
- Sargent, T. L., and plank roads, 133, 136; and railroads, 151.
- Schofield, Maj. Gen. John M., 328n, 332, 334.
- Schramm, J. S., and railroads, 143, 151.
- Scott, J. K., and plank roads, 137.
- Scott, Col. John, as farmer, 7-8, 18.
- Secession, Mahony on, 291-2, 293, 304.
- Second Iowa Artillery, 237, 251, 257, 328n, 335n.
- Second Iowa Cavalry, 328n, 359.
- Second Iowa Infantry, 167, 173, 176.
- SeEVERS, William H., 195.
- Selma (Ala.), 12th Iowa at, 343-4.
- Seventeenth Army Corps, 239, 240, 269.
- Seventh Iowa Infantry, 167, 176, 178.
- Seventh Kansas Cavalry (Jayhawkers), 243, 359.
- Seventh Minnesota Infantry, 323, 326, 333, 356.
- Seymour, Horatio, 312.
- Shaffer, Roy L., 283.
- Shaw, Joe, Maryland editor, 72.
- Shaw, Col. William T., 14th Iowa, 269; dishonorable discharge, 271.
- Shedd, George, 198, 204.
- Shelter tents, described, 263-4.
- Shenandoah Valley, 22nd Iowa in, 52-8.
- Sheridan, Maj. Gen. Philip H., 51n, 52-3n, 54n; at Cedar Creek, 65, 67n; in Shenandoah Valley, 54-8; at Winchester, 65, 67n.
- Sheridan Hospital (Winchester), Switzer at, 64-8.
- Sherman, Brig. Gen. William T., and Army of the Tennessee, 245n; at Benton Barracks, 164; 15th Army Corps, 225n, 226, 227; march to the sea, 321; Meridian expedition, 245n, 246-7; pursues Johnston, 233-8; at Vicksburg, 231.
- Sheward, David, arrest of, 302; efforts to free, 307; signs loyalty oath, 307.

- Shiloh, battle of, 12th Iowa in, 177-87.
- Sibley tents, described, 167-8.
- Sickler, Mrs. Harry, 282.
- Sixteenth Army Corps, 244, 251, 342; with Canby at Mobile, 337-40; 1st Division pursues Price, 263-74; in battle of Nashville, 324-31.
- Sixteenth Iowa Infantry, 228.
- Sixth Army Corps, 51n, 56, 57.
- Slavery, articles on, 192; Mahony on, 291, 292.
- Slidell, John, Mahony on, 298.
- Smith, Brig. Gen. A. J., 245n, 255, 258-9, 260, 341; comments by, 262n, 263, 324, 329; defeats Forrest, 257n, 321; in pursuit of Hood, 332; at Mobile, 337-40; ordered to Nashville, 322; at battle of Nashville, 324-31; pursues Price, 263-74; soldiers' confidence in, 321, 324n, 359-60.
- Smith, Bob, 22nd Iowa, 63, 68.
- Smith, C. B., Secretary of the Interior, 104.
- Smith, Brig. Gen. Charles F., 168n, 177.
- Smith, Delazon, 199, 205.
- Smith, Platt, and railroad land grants, 102, 103, 107, 110-111, 119-20, 124.
- Smith, S. G., on railroad land grants, 109.
- Smith, Brig. Gen. T. Kilby, 337n.
- Smith, W. Howard, 281.
- Snell, Lewis, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 181.
- Snider, Mrs. Inez, 365.
- Snuff sticks, 241n.
- Sociology, rural, 1.
- Sokol, Mrs. Agnes, 282.
- Soldier voting, 222, 239, 272; Mahony and, 306.
- Soper, Erastus B., 208, 209, 236, 254, 255, 356; commissioned 2nd Lt., 214; elected captain, 246; history of Co. D, 12th Iowa, 153-87, 207-274, 321-64; presented with sword, 224; promoted to 1st Lt., 232; resignation of, 326.
- Soper, Harland, 154.
- Soper, Roswell K., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 167.
- "Soper's, Erastus B., History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866," ed. by MILDRED THRONE, 153-87, 207-274, 321-64.
- "Source Material of Iowa History," 77-88, 275-80.
- Sower, Susie, house, 282.
- Spanish Fort (Mobile), 340.
- Springfield rifles, 225.
- Stanton, Edwin, 301.
- Starr, H. W., and Douglas' Iowa speech, 278-9; and plank roads, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139; and railroads, 141, 142, 151.
- Starr, W. H., and plank roads, 136; and railroads, 151.
- State Hist. Soc. of Iowa, acquisitions, 89, 188; activities of, 89-90, 188, 281-2; book published by, 365; centennial building of, 281; curators' resolution, 89-90; life members of, 89, 188, 281, 365; new members of, 89, 188, 281, 365; steamboat trips of, 281.
- State University of Iowa, History Conference at, 189.
- Steedman, Maj. Gen. James B., 328n.
- Steele, Maj. Gen. Frederick, 226, 337n, 338, 339, 342.
- Stevens, E. O., 15.
- Stewart, Aaron, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 181.
- Stewart, Gen. Alexander P., 328n.
- Stewart, G. T., opposes Mahony, 298, 299, 317; sued by Mahony, 317-18.
- Stewart, James M., 281.
- Stibbs, John H., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 155, 156, 157, 160, 161, 165, 168, 223, 224, 225, 346; commissioned major, 227; at Fort Donelson, 172; at Holly Springs, 260, 262; Lt. Col. of 12th Iowa, 242, 248, 334; at Nashville, 325, 328, 329, 331, 335; paroled, 222; at Shiloh, 182, 183; at Tupelo, 350; at Wirz trial, 344n.
- Stibbs, Corp. Joseph, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 160n, 172.
- Stoltben, Hildegard, 367.
- Stone, Gov. William, election of, 316; on land grants, 111, 114-15, 123; 12th Iowa votes for, 239.
- Stribling, C. C. A. T., 12th Iowa, 217.
- Stuart, Alex. H. H., and Des Moines River land grant, 98.
- Sturgis, Brig. Gen. Samuel D., 252n.
- Sunderland, J. P., and plank roads, 136; and railroads, 141, 151.
- Sunderland, William, and plank roads, 138; and railroads, 151.
- Sweeney, Michael, 25, 26.
- Sweeny, Col. T. W., 178n.
- Switzer, Jacob C., capture and wound-

- ing of, 58-9; Civil War reminiscences of, 37-76; discharge of, 74; hospital experiences of, 63-74; return to Iowa City, 75; leg amputated, 64.
- "Switzer, Jacob C., *Reminiscences of the 22nd Iowa, Part II*," ed. by MILDRED THRONE, 37-76.
- Taft, William Howard, 77.
- Tallant, J. F., and railroads, 151.
- Tallman, Barney, 22nd Iowa, 63, 68.
- Tama County Hist. Soc., 283.
- Taylor, Zachary, 196.
- Telegraph, articles on, 288.
- Telephone, articles on, 192.
- Templer, Oliver, 12-13; Hamilton County farmer, 23-4.
- Ten Eyck, Henry, Hamilton County farm leader, 18, 21-2, 29.
- Texas, 22nd Iowa in, 41-6.
- Theater, articles on, 96, 192, 288.
- Thielson, Henry, 149.
- Third Iowa Infantry, 180.
- Thirteenth Army Corps, 37, 235, 239, 337n, 339, 340.
- Thirteenth Iowa Infantry, 228.
- Thirty-fifth Iowa Infantry, 225, 226, 234, 241, 247, 251, 254, 269, 271, 328n, 342.
- Thirty-second Iowa Infantry, 328n.
- Thirty-third Missouri Infantry, 342.
- Thomas, Dick, 22nd Iowa, 68.
- Thomas, Maj. Gen. George H., 345; in battle of Nashville, 324-31; at Eastport, 334; in pursuit of Hood, 332; at Nashville, 321.
- Thomas, Gen. L., 226, 229.
- Thomas, Mrs. Loren G., 365.
- Thompson, Alex, 25.
- Thompson, Frank D., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 263.
- Thompson, James L., 195, 204.
- Thompson, William, 198, 205.
- THRONE, MILDRED (ed.), "Reminiscences of Jacob C. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa, Part II," 37-76; "Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D, 12th Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866," 153-87, 207-274, 321-64.
- Tilghman, Brig. Gen. Lloyd, 169.
- Tindall, Ray, 91, 283.
- Todd, G. M., 296.
- Toolesboro, and plank roads, 138, 139.
- Townsley, Capt. Lloyd D., 12th Iowa, 245.
- Travel, articles on, 96.
- Tremain, Ira, 31.
- Trumbull, Lyman, 277.
- Tupelo, battle of, 12th Iowa in, 253-8, 359-60.
- Turner, Rev. Asa, 198.
- Tuttle, Brig. Gen. James M., 233, 236, 238, 239, 245; commands 3rd Division, 15th Army Corps, 225n, 226; defeat of, 316; Mahony opposes, 314, 315; nominated for governor, 316; at Shiloh, 177, 178, 180; in 16th Army Corps, 245n; 12th Iowa votes for, 239; at Vicksburg, 231.
- Twelfth Iowa Infantry, Co. D, in Alabama, 340-45; at Benton Barracks, St. Louis, 163-7, 220-24, 273-4, 322-3; at Camp Union, 158-63; capture of, 181-2; at capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, 168-74; as color company, 225; in advance on Corinth, 209-210; in battle of Corinth, 211-13; in District of Cairo, 168n; in 15th Army Corps, 225; foraging of, 168; take "French leave," 221-2; guns of, 165, 166; history of, 153-87, 207-274, 321-64; at Holly Springs, 259-61, 262-3; at Jackson, Miss., 237-8; losses of, 331; at Mobile, 336-40; mustered in, 159, 161; mustered out, 346; in battle of Nashville, 324-31, 334-6; at New Orleans, 337-8; new flag, 225; new recruits for, 246; noncommissioned officers of, 160n; officers of, 156; officers resign, 325; organization of, 154-6; parole of prisoners from, 215-23; prison experiences of members of, 347-64; as provost guards at Selma, 343-4; in pursuit of Forrest, 248-63; in pursuit of Hood, 331-3; in pursuit of Johnston, 233-8; in pursuit of Price, 263-74; re-enlistment of, 244-5; reorganization of, 223-4; resolution of, 343-4; scouting and picket duty in Tenn. and Miss., 240-47; as seasoned veterans, 321; in battle of Shiloh, 177-87; sickness in, 164-5, 166, 174; receives Springfield rifles, 225, 251; training of, 159; at battle of Tupelo, 253-8; uniforms of, 160; in Union Brigade, 207-215; on veteran furlough, 247-8; in Vicksburg cam-

- paign, 224-33; votes of, 222, 239, 272; at White River, Ark., 249-51, 261n.
- "Twelfth Iowa Infantry, 1861-1866, Erastus B. Soper's History of Company D," ed. by MILDRED THRONE, 153-87, 207-274, 321-64.
- Twenty-eighth Iowa Infantry, 51, 56.
- Twenty-first Iowa Infantry, 37n.
- Twenty-fourth Iowa Infantry, 51.
- Twenty-second Iowa Infantry, sent to Army of the Potomac, 51; crossing Atchafalaya River, 49-50; at Baton Rouge, 50-51; in Department of the Gulf, 37; foraging of, 39-40; in Louisiana, 39-41; at New Orleans, 38; punishment for foraging, 40-41; on Red River expedition, 46-50; with Sheridan in Shenandoah Valley, 52-8; in Texas, 41-6; in Washington, D. C., 51-2; in battle of Winchester, 55-60.
- Twenty-seventh Iowa Infantry, 328n.
- Twenty-third Army Corps, at Nashville, 328, 329, 331, 334.
- Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, 37n, 246.
- Underwood, Asst. Surgeon Myron, 12th Iowa, 325-6, 328, 343.
- Union Brigade, 207-215.
- Urban history, articles on, 96, 288.
- Utterback, Rev. Glenn L., 91.
- Vallandigham, Clement L., 299.
- Van Dorn, Maj. Gen. Earl, 210.
- Van Duzee, Maj. Edward M., 12th Iowa, 245, 271, 272.
- Vanderburg, Mrs. Helen, 281.
- Vandever, Col. William, 9th Iowa, 158n; secures guns for 12th Iowa, 166.
- Vicksburg (Miss.), Confederate prison at, 352-4.
- Vicksburg campaign, 37; charge of May 22nd, 231; 12th Iowa in, 224-33.
- Virginia, Iowa troops in, 51n, 52-8.
- Wagner, Jasper, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 223.
- Walcott, Samuel G., 124.
- Walcott vs. the Des Moines Co., 123-4.
- Walker, R. J., and Des Moines River land grant, 98.
- Walker, William, and plank roads, 133, 136; and railroads, 151.
- Wallace, Henry, and Wilson appointment, 80-83.
- Wallace, Henry A., 77.
- Wallace, Henry C., 83.
- Wallace, Brig. Gen. Lewis, 168n, 173.
- Wallace, Brig. Gen. W. H. L., at Shiloh, 177.
- Wallace, William Ross, 73.
- Walthall, Gen. Edward Cary, 262, 330.
- War Democrats, 294, 295; oppose Mahony, 296.
- Ware, H. B., and plank roads, 135; and railroads, 141, 151.
- Warren, Gen. Fitz Henry, 42; on Red River expedition, 46-50.
- Washburn, Maj. Gen. Cadwallader C., 37n.
- Washington, D. C., Iowa troops in, 51-2.
- Waterhouse's Battery, guns recaptured, 333.
- Watrobek, Enos, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 208.
- Watrobek, John, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 208.
- Waymack, W. W., 366.
- Wayne County Hist. Soc., 91, 283, 366.
- Wearin, Otha, 91.
- Wearin, Mrs. Otha, 365.
- Weaver, John N., 12th Iowa, 264.
- Weber, Carl, 188.
- Webster, Daniel, 196.
- Webster, Wm. H., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 166.
- Webster City, and Hamilton County agriculture, 5.
- Webster City *Hamilton Freeman*, as source for agricultural history, 5-14.
- Webster County Hist. Soc., 283.
- Welles, William B., and Des Moines River lands, 112.
- Welles, Woolsey, and land grants, 112.
- Welles vs. Riley, 126.
- Whig party in Iowa, antislavery and, 198; campaign of, 203-204; Compromise of 1850 and, 195-6, 202-203; congressional nominations of, 196-7; defeat of, 204; 1850 nominations of, 195; internal improvements and, 194, 203; platform of, 195-6.
- Whitaker, Col. Charles, Hamilton County farmer, 28, 31.
- White, Maj. Ephraim G., 22nd Iowa, 40-41.
- White River (Ark.), 12th Iowa at, 249-51, 261n.
- Whittam, John J., Co. D, 12th Iowa, 157-8, 235, 262, 329, 330, 336, 345.
- Who's Who*, article on, 288.

- Wightman, J. P., and railroads, 151.
 Wilkie, Franc B., on Mahony arrest, 303.
 Williams, Don, 282.
 Williams, Jeremiah, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 256, 258.
 Williams, William A., 189.
 Wilson, Sumler and Walter C., Hamilton County farmers, 27.
 Wilson, J. S., 22nd Iowa, 62.
 Wilson, James ("Tama Jim"), as Congressman, 77-8; contemporary accounts of appointment of, 84-8; first Cabinet appointment of, 77-88; as Secretary of Agriculture, 77, 82-3; Henry Wallace and, 80-83.
 "Wilson, James, Appointment of, as Secretary of Agriculture," 77-88.
 Wilson, Maj. Gen. James H., 328n, 332, 341.
 Wilson, Judge Thomas, 197.
 Wilson, Woodrow, 83; article on, 192.
 Winchester, battle of, 55-60.
 Winslow, Col. Edward F., 4th Iowa Cavalry, 265n.
 Winterstein, Harry, Co. I, 12th Iowa, 360.
 Wirz, Henry, hanging of, 344-5.
 Wittenmeyer, Charles E., 281.
 Wolfe, Dan, 74.
 Wolfe, Margaret, 68.
 Woman suffrage, articles on, 288.
 Wood, Fernando, 317.
 Wood, Brig. Gen. Thomas L., 328n.
 Woods, James, and railroads, 151.
 Woods, Col. Joseph Jackson, 12th Iowa, 166n, 168, 171, 226, 227, 236, 238, 259, 260, 271, 272; in pursuit of Forrest, 248, 249; wounded at Shiloh, 181, 182, 184; in 16th Army Corps, 251, 269; at Tupelo, 256, 356.
 Worcester (Mass.), Switzer in hospital at, 73-4.
 World War I, articles on, 96.
 Wreck, George, 72.
 Wright, George G., 196, 204.
 Wright, Maj. Gen. Horatio G., 51n.
 Wright, Isaac, 72.
 WUBBEN, HUBERT H., "Dennis Mahony and the Dubuque Herald, 1860-1863," 289-320.
 Yost, C. L., 91.
 Yost, Charles, 283.
 Young, Mrs. Glen, 91.
 Young, Richard M., and Des Moines River land grant, 98.
 Young Men's Democratic Organization, 313.
 Zuver, Byron Plymton, Co. D, 12th Iowa, 153, 155, 158, 161, 181, 218, 219, 221, 224, 235, 256, 259, 260, 262, 272, 335n, 339, 343, 345.

